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Number I

June, 1920

HELLENISTIC INFLUENCE
ON THE AENEID

BY

ELEANOR SHIPLEY DUCKETT, PH.D.
Assistant Professor of Latin, Smith College

EDITORS

JOHN EVERETT BRADY

JULIA HARWOOD CAVERNO

NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS

1920

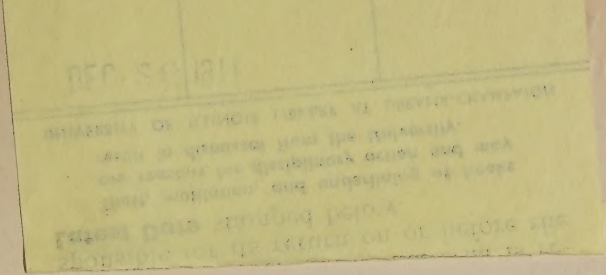
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HELLENISTIC INFLUENCE ON THE AENEID

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The Smith College Classical Studies are published from time to time by the Departments of Greek and Latin of Smith College, and have for their main object the encouragement of research in classical literature, archaeology, and antiquities by providing an opportunity for the publication of studies in these fields by scholars connected with Smith College, as teachers, graduate students, or alumnae.

The price of this number is fifty cents, and requests for copies should be addressed to J. Everett Brady, Northampton, Mass.

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TO

M. B. McE.

—ὀλίγην δόσιν ἀλλ' ἀπὸ θυμοῦ—

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p 45152

CONTENTS

I. THE HELLENISTIC AGE	1
II. THE INFLUENCE OF HELLENISTIC LIFE AND LITERATURE—A	12
III. THE INFLUENCE OF HELLENISTIC LIFE AND LITERATURE—B	38
IV. THE INFLUENCE OF HELLENISTIC TECH- NIQUE	46

PREFACE

The influence of Hellenistic literature upon Vergil is no new subject, for commentators have long since exhausted their efforts in bringing to light every resemblance between the words of Apollonius, Theocritus, or Callimachus, and the language of the *Aeneid*, *Georgics*, or *Bucolics*. It is not, therefore, to actual correspondence of letter that I now direct my attention, nor primarily to the influence of literature upon literature; but rather to correspondence of spirit and manner, to the influence upon Vergil's mind and work of the Hellenistic tradition of life and thought, together with its literary expression. Vergil, as well as other Romans, had shared the inheritance, good or evil, which Roman life had received and was still receiving from every part of the Hellenistic world, Greece and Macedonia, Egypt and Asia. To the general education derived from this source he could add special training in Hellenistic thought and theory: under the Greek Parthenius, he had grown familiar with these traits of Hellenistic life as they were represented in the best poets of the Hellenistic day. Further, he had drunk of the Hellenistic philosophy as its differing Schools had offered it to him; had debated with Greek dwellers in Italy, and had finally looked forward to drawing from Greece herself a wider knowledge in which to steep his greatest work. "It is necessary," Warde Fowler reminds us in one of his studies of the *Aeneid*, "to insist on the fact, however obvious it may be to those who know, that in Virgil's time the Empire was almost as much Greek as it was Roman. Augustus had reunited the Greek and Roman elements, the east and the west, which for a time had been sundered under sinister Egyptian influence. Every educated Roman was bilingual and Greece was his intellectual and also his spiritual, home." It is in this indirect and spiritual, not in the verbal, influence of Hellenistic life and literature upon Vergil that I find a reason for my work. No one as yet, I think, has adequately traced its effect upon the poet who grew up in the midst of its dominant sway, whose youth was spent in an atmosphere, as we may learn from the *Ciris*, the *Culex*, and

the *Catalepton*, surcharged with inquiries regarding phenomena both psychical and physical; combined with conscious efforts toward an understanding of the natures of men and of things, and with efforts, equally conscious, directed toward the reproduction of thought in fitting form. It was impossible that the man whose early training was received in such a school should fail to show in his riper work certain traces of Hellenistic influence—a keener insight into the minds of men, a greater curiosity concerning the things of Nature, and a livelier appreciation of art.

Especially at this moment is this study of interest; for now, after much debate and argument, we have learned to recognize the *Ciris* and the *Culex* as poems of Vergil's youth.¹ And so we are ready to discuss not only traces of Hellenistic art in the *Aeneid*, but the progression of Hellenistic art in Vergil from its cruder manifestations, as revealed in the earlier poems, up to the ripened stage, where its pervasive subtlety lends richness to this latest work. In the earlier works, written at a time when Hellenistic influences were more attractive to the poet than at any other time, the fruits, both good and bad, of this training can be distinguished most clearly. Later on, as the poet's art became more mature, the exaggerations were pruned away, the true skill was developed and enriched. It is easy to put one's finger on the Hellenistic features of the *opera minora*; it is not so easy to do so for the *Aeneid*. The reason is, of course, that, while in the *Culex* and the *Ciris* this Hellenistic influence is as yet of over-great importance, in the *Aeneid*, while it leavens and adds spice to the whole story, yet it does not forcibly obtrude itself upon the reader. Vergil, in his later work, has so many other sources of inspiration and powers of artistic expression at his command, and has so marvellously welded them all together, that nothing Hellenistic jars upon us, or can be separated from the whole which he made his own.

¹ Those of us who are willing to agree with E. K. Rand: "instead, then, of creating from *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* a definition of what Virgil at all times must have been, and by that definition excluding the minor poems as unworthy of him, we should accept the ancient statement and in the light of it enlarge our understanding of Virgilian qualities, thankful for the opportunity of seeing his genius mount from stage to stage": *Young Virgil's Poetry*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXX, 1919, pp. 103 ff.; see also Tenney Frank, *Vergil's Apprenticeship*, *Classical Philology*, January, 1920, pp. 23 ff.

Furthermore, it is obviously true that our study of Hellenistic influence carries us but a little way in our search for the spirit of Vergil. As is true with every genius, so he, of necessity, rises above each literary influence and tells the thoughts that are altogether his own: student of man, beast, and field, he gives us primarily himself. The elements which moulded and developed this spirit are drawn in infinitely deeper measure from the old Greek epic and from Greek tragedy, above all, from Euripides, than from the Hellenistic School. To his own nature, trained by these masters, Vergil owes, indeed, in the first instance many of the characteristics here discussed in connection with Hellenistic life and its literary form. The Poet himself—Man and Roman—has been revealed to us in inimitable fashion and in manifold lights by the great English students of Vergil. Yet—for all that sheds any light on Vergil is of interest—it has seemed worth while to study briefly the possible effects of this undoubted influence of Hellenistic Greece still lingering in the background of his mind.

In these pages I have drawn constantly, especially in Chapter I, from Kaerst's *History of Hellenistic Greece*; and from Heinze's *Virgils Epische Technik*. The titles of other books which I have consulted or from which I have taken material are given at the end, or, for special reference, in the notes. To Professor Tenney Frank of the Johns Hopkins University I owe the gift of my subject; to Professor Florence Alden Gragg of Smith College I am indebted for many keen criticisms and apt suggestions, to Professor Mary Belle McElwain, also of Smith College, for many valuable emendations of form. Acknowledgment is also due to the *Classical Journal* of its permission to reproduce material published therein, especially much of Chapters II and III; and to Professor Andrew Keogh, Librarian of Yale University, of his courteous assistance in my research.

*Northampton, Massachusetts,
January, 1920.*

CHAPTER I

THE HELLENISTIC AGE

With the victories of Alexander, a new manner of life starts for the Greek world. The City State, through *stasis* within and federative union without, has already lost its power, and an era is established in which individual personality strikes the dominant note; not indeed the unreasoning personality of the Tyrant, but one that seeks to embody the rule of reason in its own hands. Government passes from the control of citizens incorporated in a rational union to one supreme Head, in whom all authority is centred. In the rapid changes following the death of Alexander, advancement in life depends on a man's own merits; among the many struggling for highest position, the fittest survive. Supreme authority is based, not upon ancestral descent, but upon personal efficiency, which can express its will in personal mandates assuming for themselves the authority of the plebiscite. All, therefore, depends upon the individual, conscious of his own capability and awaiting the occasion to use it; Alexander's scheme for world-rule, vested in himself as the *παμβασιλεύς*, is succeeded by individual supremacies, and the individual, once firmly planted in power, perpetuates his rule: in Egypt the son of Lagus founds the House of the Ptolemies, in Syria and in Macedonia, after many and various *περιπέτειαι*, the dynasties of Seleucus and Antigonos are established. The very possibility of disaster in these kaleidoscopic days of swift reversal of fortune makes those who hold rule doubly self-conscious of their limitations, as of their powers; they gain their place by their own might and hold it till a mightier comes upon them, as Diana's king once did at Nemi.

This supreme power, then, as founded by Alexander, resting on and springing from personal achievement, soon assumed for itself the title of king in the various countries of the Hellenistic world; and in the king, all classes of life centred. Men lived in cities named after their kings; they were bound, not to the State, but to the Monarch, as the pivot on which all things

turned in a bureaucratic system which regulated them from the highest to the most humble. Land, militia, and finance were of the king's domain; intellectual and social life drew inspiration from him as patron and chief lord: he was as the Sun in the civic universe. As its Sun, he shed on others his glory, in varying degrees according to their nearness to himself; the nobles of the Hellenistic Court were the king's Friends, their children, the royal *σύντροφοι*; and the same was true for all ranks, for the very privates in the army were his Comrades. Apart, moreover, from particular acts of gracious benignity on the part of the sovereign, he bestowed by his very position a reflected prestige upon his subjects. For by his importance, the importance, real or potential, of every man in his realm was necessarily enhanced; since the sovereign held his power through his own efficiency and the kindness of Fate, and what one man had done, other men might do. The Hellenistic world was, therefore, strongly individualistic, made up of units separately invested with a potential importance, which might at any moment be realized before the public eye. The deeds and sayings of those who attained to prominence were chronicled, and the writing of biographies, as a type of literature, dates from this time; their features and expressions were studied and remembered: for portraits in marble and bronze were now first commonly wrought.

But, further, these units were of all kinds, as is natural; since a world which lays special stress on personality we may expect to find cosmopolitan in character; and individuals of widely different nations strove to realize their special destiny in the Hellenistic kingdoms. This widening of social limits was naturally advanced by the extension of commerce, in which Macedonians, Greeks, Iranians, Egyptians, and Semites mingled freely with one another; and the mind of Alexander had already conceived the idea of a great World-Empire embracing at least the three first named. The distinction between Greek and barbarian was becoming obliterated in practice, and a new bond of union of various nationalities was being forged, based on the common Hellenistic culture, of which a common language, the *κοινή*, was the outward sign.

One of the most interesting marks of this increasing value of personality under monarchical rule appears in the changed

position of women. For the first time in Greek history, woman had now a chance to show what she, too, as an individual could accomplish. And Fortune aided her in giving to the feminine side of the royal house a special importance through the extinction of the dual line by the murder of Alexander's half-brother and his son; for by marriage the Diadochi sought to confirm their claims to sovereignty. Olympias, accomplice in her husband's assassination, slayer of the Thessalian Arridaeus and his Illyrian queen, and herself pelted to death by the relations of those she had slain: Cleopatra, sister of Alexander, publicly defending her cause before the Macedonian army: Arsinoë the "moving spirit of Ptolemy Philadelphus," and jointly acknowledged with him in the cult of the *θεοὶ ἀδελφοί*, as Berenice with his predecessor in that of the Saviour Gods: Laodice, "the evil genius of the Seleucid Empire" and, it seems, worshipped with her husband "Theos"—these were individuals well able to earn their own prominence. In part, the untamed blood which drove to fury Cynane and her daughter Eurydice accounted for deeds of violence. In a more civilized sphere, women were now given special honour in the society of the Imperial Court, joined schools of philosophy, undertook serious study of letters or art, wrote poetry themselves and were the main intellectual inspiration for the men whose poetry they read; obtained freedom of cities, undertook liturgies in Asia Minor, and in Athens called forth the *gynaeconomi* of Demetrius of Phalerum to stay their extravagance.

A system in which promotion is based on individual merit tends naturally towards efficiency; and specialization in technical knowledge was characteristic of the individuals of this time. The bureaucracy was a honeycomb of small subdivisions entailing special professional equipment; and in this period, guilds of tradesmen and workpeople were first formed in Egypt. The Dionysiac Guild was a similar union of specialists in art; and Kaerst has shown how this professional bent appeared in Egypt as described by Hecataeus and in Euhemerus' fabled island of Panchaea.

Yet, when all is said, the Sun eclipses the stars; minor differences of rank, so important in a City-State, tend to disappear when confronted with the one great distinction common to all between ruler and subject; a dull level of monotony now spread

over the multitude who failed to attain prominence, and from this we trace in part the pessimism of the Hellenistic age and the waning of political life. If all duties centre in the king, why should ordinary men trouble themselves? and if professional bureaucrats are paid to do the work, what responsibility devolves upon the citizen? all are but pawns in a monarch's diplomatic game. The ambitious sought to make their fortunes in the foreign world of adventure; feeling for home politics disappeared, long before the time of Polybius, who will have none of the patriotism of the City-State, the mark of a foolish and narrowminded man. The spread of the *κοινή* hindered patriotism in the different regions, and the cosmopolitan fusing of races took away special interest in national affairs. Side by side, also, with subservience to monarchy lay the hatred of this yoke laid on men who had once been free. The Athenians, in gratitude for their "liberty" from the rule of Cassander's general, hailed Demetrius and his father as Gods; even in Egypt, where monarchy was an established principle, the Pharaoh was forced to maintain his autocratic rule by imported military power: for his hand bound on his people heavy burdens of taxation.

The private life, therefore, of this period developed to a degree unknown in the City-State. Men turned their eyes from without to within; freed from civic burdens, they now, some gladly, some perforce, gave themselves up, in steadily increasing measure, to a manifold variety of individual interests. This concentration in a narrower sphere led to a realistic view of humanity and nature, already presented to the world by Aristotle, and to an interest in the humble things of the world of every-day. Thus we reach again the same result—passion for detail—which interest in human personality has given us in realistic portrait-painting, literary sketches, and minute records such as the *ἐφημερίδες* of Alexander. Scientific investigation in botany, zoology, human anatomy, fostered in its turn the habit of noticing details, however trivial; intellectual discussion, so freely promoted at this time, was compelled to take notice of the seemingly unimportant. The same tendency is true of Hellenistic art, as Helbig has shown. Science, once established, stimulated the love of novelty, which drove men to delve into hitherto unexplored regions of society. And as of society, so of

territory; Alexander's campaigns had opened up new worlds in which the adventurous and curious might travel by land and sea in search of new lore; the royal chroniclers published accounts of all they had seen and learned, and the knowledge of the Chaldaeans and the Egyptian priests was now first spread abroad. The marvels that came to light inculcated a love of the strange; and the *aretalogus* who entertained the company *super cenam* was well known in Hellenistic circles, among those who truly spent their time in little else but in telling, tracing, or inventing some new thing. The same spirit reveals itself in the art which produced the Colossus. Moreover, the current flowed in two ways; for intellectualism looks not only forward in modern scientific research, but backward to antiquity in the feeling for the past. Men of art sought the "old masters," men of literature raked up old myths, men of scholarship devoted themselves to Commentaries upon Homer, to the formation of libraries, to philological research; tradition was all-important, authorities and sources were investigated with eager zeal. In the midst of all this new stream of knowledge, it is little wonder that writers felt the need of concentration; there was no time for anything but brevity, and much information in little space was the motto of this day.

As the individual turned his attention to the study, so he cultivated the emotions, of private life. The cult of friendship had already been given recognition in the Sacred Band of Thebes; it had been given official standing in the *σύντροφοι*, who were alike the counsellors of the king and his friends from early childhood; and in the *συμβιωταί*, a group of philosophers admitted to the intimacy of the king's table for the enlivening of the play of argument prevalent at Hellenistic feasts. But, further, this Hellenistic age was a time especially ripe for the welding of friendship on the basis of similar intellectual thought and natural desires. Patriotism, including the many interests of civic life, had gone, and marriage was a formal institution, readily dissolved. Although the wife was supreme in her position in the home, yet this bond was commonly formed for the sake of social and official status, and brought little depth of feeling; for the latter a man turned to his friends, to associations, such as that of the Phalerean Demetrius with Theognis, and to the demi-monde. Since the world was overwhelmingly inter-

ested in private questions, love inevitably assumed a position of paramount importance, and from being an accessory, became, itself, an end and object of study and experience. The formalism of the Hellenistic family, the quickened sense of feeling caused by a quickened mental curiosity, the enhanced desire to penetrate in search of adventure, led men in the direction of sentiment. In keeping with the sentimental trend of life, was the hero-worship of the bold knight-errant of chivalry, who, endowed with mighty form and noble mien, knows no superior, renders courtesy for courtesy to his equals, is terrible in revenge, yet can show generosity to those he has overcome. Such a halo of romance surrounded a line of heroes from Alexander to Pyrrhus.

A world that revolves round an Imperial House must always pay more heed to pomps and pageants than a Republic; and a world that fixes its eyes on private life must care greatly for its own comfort. Hence we trace the growth of luxury at this time: in household trappings, in banquets, in dress of every kind. Men lived in a world of artificial culture, veneered with a suave and polished courtesy, sparkling with gold and many colours, heavy with perfume. The inevitable reaction followed upon satiety, and these pampered exquisites began to sigh for the simple pleasures of the good old days, even of primitive times. They turned with relief to the contemplation of the fair beauty of Nature, and the joys of rustic life; a reaction aided for many on the practical side, as Mahaffy notes, by the dull landscapes surrounding them in Alexandria, the centre of commercial and intellectual activity.

This individualistic movement, further, touches not only politics and social life, but also religion; for with the decline of the City-State, came also the decline of the worship of the City-Gods, and in proportion as the individual grew in importance, men came more and more to seek support through their own efforts rather than through the aid of deity. The old Greek gods have, therefore, little meaning for the Hellenistic age, and survive mainly in formal observances promoted by the king for his own political advantage. Alexander had given an example in this respect; he had set out for Asiatic conquest under the aegis of the Gods and heroes who had fought for Greece at Troy, and had supported his claim to world-supremacy through his

acclamation as son of Zeus by the priests of Zeus-Ammon; the Seleucids, in their turn, connected their line with Apollo, the Ptolemies, with Heracles and Dionysus. In like manner the Hellenistic rulers, especially the Ptolemies, were careful to consolidate their new power by associating it with cults introduced under their auspices; and an attempt was made to support the worship of deities hitherto unknown to the Greek world, by the claim of the gods of Egypt and Asia that the old Greek gods were but incomplete revelations of themselves. We find, therefore, that the prevailing religion, like the life, was cosmopolitan in composition; the union of races was reproduced in the syncretism of cults. Yet, as in secular life, men of the Hellenistic world offered honour within their kingdoms to strangers on the ground of personal merit, so, in the religious world, men paid their homage at times to strange gods, whom they believed to be invested with special powers to meet their individual need. From this we trace the growing cult of Asclepius; and the rapid spread of the worship of the Great Mother, of Mithras, Isis, Osiris, and Serapis. To these the individual fled to gain purification from his burden of sin, and his consciousness of impurity; individual initiations into a new form of worship placed him in the path of peace and offered to him a refuge from the terrors of a future life. It was these same terrors, inspired by the uncertainty of Man's ultimate fate, that led him to consult the magicians and astrologers who had entered the Hellenistic world from Babylonia and Chaldaea, and thus to gratify as well the impulse, springing from the consciousness of personality and peculiar destiny, characteristic of the age. The practice of magic rested upon the belief in a general sympathy or antipathy reacting through all Nature, living and dead, in a subtle and all-powerful relation. This creed, which found its mainspring in the dual theology of the Persians, also had its utilitarian side: for evil, in the practice of sorcery; for good, in the art of medicine. The cult of the stars was of even greater moment: for they are divine beings influencing mortal lot for good or evil as they will; the human soul, itself wrought from fire, is united in bonds of deepest sympathy with these beings, from whom it came and unto whom, in due course of time, it shall return. So, as Cumont has shown, believed the Chaldaeans and the Persians; and their doctrines

gained wide currency, furthered by the translation into Greek of the sacred books of Zoroaster. The study of astrology was thus both the privilege and the proper business of the man who would rise to higher things, and Euhemerus commends the dwellers in Panchaea for their worship of the stars.

These stars, once heroes of the earth, are, therefore, living personalities; and indeed personification is characteristic of the time. Among the ideas thus embodied none is more prominent than that of Tyche, who ruled the ebb and flow of Hellenistic accident. The cult of this Hellenistic Fortuna was largely due to the *Περὶ τύχης* of Demetrius of Phalerum, who as Ferguson remarks, "elevated this capricious goddess into the place of Zeus and his colleagues." Hellenistic also, by adoption, is the loftier view of Destiny: "from the Chaldaean doctrine of the stars and their unchanging movements sprang the belief in immutable Fate, ruling men and Gods alike."

Since, then, Hellenistic gods are valued throughout their cosmopolitan variety for what they bestow upon individual man, it is not difficult to understand the apotheosis of Hellenistic rulers. The gift was, indeed, entirely welcome; Alexander, inspired by the oracle of Zeus-Ammon, had prepared the way by his exaction of the *proskynesis*; the Diadochi gladly cast the glamour of this worship over their absolute rule, and softened the force of this rule to native-born and foreigner alike by the assertion of the monarch's divinity as an article of religious creed. The movement was greatly helped by the traditional position of the Egyptian Pharaoh and the Oriental sovereigns; yet the apotheosis derives its claim from personal merit, from the bestowal of blessings which win for the human benefactor the worship of his grateful subjects. The titles assumed by the Ptolemies and Seleucids in their cults—*σωτήρ*, *εὐεργέτης*—show the working of this claim; so rational, in fact, was the Hellenistic idea of deification that Ferguson can state "the apotheosis of Alexander was grounded in impiety, in disbelief of the supernatural altogether." Not only Alexander and the Diadochi, but the Greek gods themselves were once but men, who had won deity through the blessings they had given to their fellows: such is the creed which Euhemerus establishes in his island of Panchaea; similarly, in the work of

Hecataeus, kings rise to godhead because they have advanced the civilization of the world in which they rule.

From religion based on rationalism we come to philosophy, the refuge of those many more highly educated men for whom the City-Gods no longer were of moment, and who refused to quell their forebodings in orgiastic cults. The philosophy of the time reflected the main features of its practical life. Its schools were as various as the cosmopolitan races of the Hellenistic age; and Mahaffy well describes this feature in its ultimate development: "Gradually, then, at this period, not only from the influence of Rome, which required practical lessons without subtlety, but also from internal causes, from the decay of earnest faith in speculation, of earnest faith in the aims of practical life, *eclecticism*, the creed of weary minds, laid hold of the Hellenistic world. Carneades had not only shattered all the remaining dogmatism by his brilliant polemic, but he had laid down as his highest principle *mere probability*, so that there was no reason why the researches of any set of men might not contain some approximate truth. And as the doctrines might be culled from any school, so the men who taught them might hail from any country. Hellenism had been wide enough in former generations; we now seem to approach an even wider cosmopolitanism." In each sect the individual was responsible for his own progress toward the highest good, and was conscious of an individual mission to help others on his way. Personality, therefore, was a question of absorbing interest to philosophers, as to men of affairs; the head of the Peripatetic School himself takes minute pains to classify in scientific fashion the characters of the men he meets. A cosmopolitan community of ideals and interests, not kinship of blood, united all men in Zeno's State; and women, as well as men, in that indifference which assigned to both sexes a uniform dress. The Hellenistic philosopher strove to gain efficiency; for the ambition to perform with all possible ability and care one's own task in life—*τὸ ἑαυτοῦ*—had been the teaching of philosophy from the time of Plato. In the days of loss of independence and civic rights, philosophers, too, turned men's thoughts to private matters; *ἀπραγμοσύνη* was the attitude of Epicurus and his disciples toward public life; the Sceptic could take little interest in State questions, inas-

much as they represented to him only probabilities, the exact nature of which was not to be ascertained. Euhemerus and Iambulus reflected the prevailing pessimism on the one hand, the desire of the unusual on the other, in their strange Utopian tales. Epicurus found highest happiness in the cult of friendship; Love, an ever-recurrent theme in the study of human character, from Plato onward occupied the minds and writings of every School. The Cynic despised convention and turned all his thoughts toward *αὐτάρκεια*, self-sufficing joy in the simple life ruled by Nature, contrasted with which all transient history seemed vain. The Stoic, indeed, took part in public life; but only with the consciousness that he must of necessity fall short of his ideal, the life in accord with the Law uniting and ruling every part of the universe in the great World-Harmony which is the outward expression of God. And it is in this creed of the Stoics that Hellenistic philosophy reaches its highest level, embodying as it does the character of Hellenistic life. Zeus reigns supreme over the lesser deities, who in their place find individual expression in the component parts of the World-whole; his beauty revealed in Nature is meet for worship, as Cleanthes worshipped it: his word is the will of Fate. In the Harmony which is the body of Zeus all men are brethren, knit together in a common bond of universal law and order. And yet only the individual, who through the struggle of constant progress finally succeeds in identifying himself with Nature, that is, with God, can, by perfect obedience to His will, attain the goal of real satisfaction. His life is free from extravagance because Nature is essentially reasonable and has no place for artificiality or waste of energy; his advance is consciously wrought by the continual choosing of the better thing. Divination and oracles guide his steps because of "the harmony which binds all phenomena, the event foretokened with the omen or word that foretells." But only few men, such as Heracles, had ever realized this ideal, and Heracles found Godhead for his reward; other men remained on the lower plane, all classed together as fools. As, therefore, the monarch rises in his single pre-eminence, the hope of all his subjects, so the Sapiens is the hope of those who seek to rise to union with God; the final regeneration of the world lies in the reign of the Sapiens-Monarch, who shall unite his people under the law of Nature's truth. This ideal kingdom

Aristotle had already foreshadowed for his pupil in his dream of City-States, each ruled by a perfect king. Alexander's World-kingdom, based not only upon Oriental precedent, but also on Stoic faith, foreshadowed to the Stoic mind the coming of that universal reign of wisdom, wherein alone the varied discords among men could be stilled in perfect harmony under the guidance of Fate, the Word of God.

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF HELLENISTIC LIFE AND LITERATURE (A)

Such were, briefly told, the main features which characterized the Hellenistic Age; how far does their spirit yet live in the epic work of Vergil?

In keeping with the stress laid in the Hellenistic world upon the individual self, is the absence in narrative poetry, Hellenistic or written under Hellenistic influence, of the child-like impersonality of the Homeric narrative, and the fresh spontaneity of Homeric characters. The poet and his people inevitably turn their thoughts inward upon themselves; the whole atmosphere is intensely self-conscious. The *Ciris* and the *Culex* show this spirit in marked degree, deepened as it is by the self-consciousness of untried youth. In the *Ciris* Vergil devotes a whole preface of forty-seven lines to himself, his ambitions and his doings; in the *Culex* ten lines of personal import precede the invocation, and the poet drags himself away at last from telling his desire for Octavius' glory, with the words—*sed nos ad coepta feramur*. In the *Aeneid*, he is still self-conscious, but he has learned to confine self-expression to a brief touch here and there, which is, after all, due not so much to the remembrance of his own personality, as of himself as the responsible poet of Rome. In the lines handed down by Donatus and Servius, *Aeneid* I, 1a-1d, we find a touch of personal history which links present to past in Vergil's life; in like manner present is linked with past in the opening of the *Ciris*, and present with future in that of the *Culex*. Ennius, also, opens his *Annales* with a personal touch, borrowed, we may believe, from Callimachus. There is a distinction between the admission of this element in the opening of an historical epic, and such obtrusion of his own personality as Hesiod naturally makes in beginning a didactic treatise addressed to his offending brother. At times the Hellenistic writer of epic or epyllion addresses himself, or his characters, or his readers.¹ Callimachus

¹ This is, of course, part of rhetorical tradition: Longinus, *De Sublim.* XXXVI.

interrupts his story of Acontius and Cydippe to rebuke himself; Callimachus, Apollonius, and Vergil in the *Ciris*, address those of whom they are writing;² the *Aeneid* frequently shows the same practice, and passages occur in which persons mentioned in description are directly invoked. Direct address to the reader is a feature of *ecphrasis* found in the poetry of Apollonius and of Moschus, and in the *Aeneid*; the Homeric description of Achilles' shield, on the other hand, does not contain this detail. Even more marked is the Hellenistic poet's habit of interrupting his narrative with his own reflections. Apollonius bursts into pity at the fate of the women of Lesbos, or into an indignant accusation of pitiless Love; he laments that we men ever suffer joy mingled with pain and lie at the mercy of terrors unknown. Theocritus utters his lament for the temerity of lovers or voices his thought on religion. Vergil is very sorry for Scylla:

omnia, quae retinere gradum cursusque morari
possent, o tecum vellem tua semper haberes!

He grieves over the fall of Pallas, pities men's ignorance and folly in prosperity. A similar detail appears in the use of the single epithet, for which there is indeed precedent in Homer. Yet it is of interest to mark, in the later poets, a sympathy with their characters, shown in the selection of these epithets; it is with sympathy, I think, that Callimachus writes *σχέρλιος* of the victims of Artemis' wrath and of the rash Teiresias: so Apollonius of Medea; so, too, Catullus and Vergil write such words as *infelix* or *miser heu!* or *visu miserabile* in descriptions of their folk which come from the authors themselves.²

But far more self-conscious than even the poet himself are the characters on his stage, men and gods alike. The Medea of Apollonius, Simaetha, and the Maid of the Grenfell Fragment find their Latin counterparts (if we exclude Dido) in this respect in Ariadne, Scylla, and Amata; Juno views herself objectively in the first and in the seventh book of the *Aeneid*, as does Artemis in the hymn addressed to her; both Vergil and Callimachus use, on one occasion, the objective proper name instead of the first personal pronoun in such speech.³ So Polyphemus in

² See Jackson, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXIV (1913), p. 49.

³ *Aen.* I, 48 f. Juno soliloquizes:

et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat
praeterea, aut supplex aris imponat honorem?

Theocritus' eleventh idyll consciously reviews his own good and bad points, and even breaks out into exhortation addressed to himself. Medea speaks of herself with pity: the heroines of the Latin epyllion do the same;⁴ so, too, does Juno, baffled in her design, Amata in her rage, and Evander in his sorrow. Here, also, each character, in a higher or lower degree, according to his ability, is aware of the self he represents and is to realize. All depends upon individual merit; as the Hellenistic monarch, as the Roman Augustus held his rule through the merit of his success, so the Juno of the *Aeneid* fears for her power if unsupported by triumph visible before the eyes of her worshippers. One of the most forcible similes of the *Aeneid* pictures a vast and seething multitude quelled into silence by the strength of one man's overruling personality. The same belief in a supreme destiny to be won by peculiar merit, which inspired Alexander⁵ and Augustus, fills the heart of Vergil's chief heroes. Turnus, relying on his own might, indignantly hurls back the reproach of Drances—"Pulsus ego?"—Aeneas bids his son look to himself,⁶ and bids the dying Lausus seek solace in the thought that it is the great Aeneas who has dealt the mortal stroke; the height of self-consciousness is reached in the words of this, Vergil's hero:

sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste penates
 classe veho mecum, fama super aethera notus.

The corresponding words of Odysseus—IX, 19, 20:

εἴμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, δὲ πᾶσι δόλοισιν
 ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, καὶ μὲν κλέος οὐρανὸν ἔκει :

Call. *Artem.* 18 f. Artemis asks of Zeus:

δὸς δέ μοι οὐρεα πάντα· πόλιν δέ μοι ἤντινα νείμον,
 ἤντινα λῆς· σπαρνὸν γὰρ ὅτ' Ἀρτεμις ἄστυ κάτεισιν.

103 f. The poet narrates of Artemis:

ἐξαπίνης δ' ἔταφές τε καὶ ὃν ποτὶ θυμὸν ἔειπες,
 τοῦτό κεν Ἀρτέμιδος πρωτάγριον ἄξιον εἶη.

⁴ Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁵ Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*,² 1896, p. 33: "It may be said that he (i.e., Alexander) had full confidence in his fortune, and that the king's valour gave tremendous force to the charge of his personal companions."

⁶ So, indeed, do Hector and Ajax: but cf. with Aeneas' words those of Hector (*Il.* VI, 479 f.):

καὶ ποτὲ τις εἴποι "πατὴρ γ' ὅδε πολλὸν ἀμείνων"
 ἐκ πολέμου ἀνιόντα . . .

show nothing of Aeneas' burden of responsibility for the fulfilling of his destiny.

Vergil, then, in the *Aeneid*, reflects both directly and indirectly, the self-consciousness of the great men of Hellenistic days, while Roman History was itself running a course resembling that of Hellenistic Greece in that the rule of the people was passing into the hands of one man. Here, too, in Rome the Emperor was supreme, and under his power men were levelled in uniform subjection. Within this despotism literature became the vehicle of the praise, not simply of Rome, but of the Caesar and of Rome as led by him. The Emperor promoted the cause of letters by his personality, set with a halo of glory in the centre of all, and by the material gifts which encouraged and often made possible the works of his literary circle. As the old free initiative of the Greek *πόλις* had waned, so the old free spirit of the Roman Republic no longer breathed in the Imperial literature.

nil nimium studeo, Caesar, tibi velle placere,
nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo:

is very different from *deus nobis haec otia fecit*. The *Aeneid* is a Court poem, dedicated to the glory of Rome under one man's rule. Thus wrote Callimachus and Theocritus in praise of Ptolemy. But the *Aeneid*, like the *Georgics*, in so far as it concerns the Emperor, does not merely glorify him. Mahaffy notes, with regard to Callimachus, that "the adroit allusions to Ptolemy in these (i.e., Callimachus') hymns were not mere flattery—they are intended to commend to the people of Argos, Delos, Ephesus, Cnidos, as well as to the many Greeks assembled at Alexandria, the benefits of a close alliance with, if not of submission to, the throne of Egypt."⁷ So we may think that Augustus hoped by the *Aeneid* to foster a spirit of Imperial community among his subjects of many races, as the *Georgics* had stimulated the lagging energy of his veterans for the tilling of their lands. Warde Fowler sees this effort in the catalogue of Book VII; here "the Roman poet set himself to support with all his gifts the definite Italian policy of Augustus. . . . This, I think, was the poet's primary motive."⁸ The highest attain-

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 273.

⁸ *Virgil's Gathering of the Clans*, 1916, p. 28.

ment of Vergil in this direction is well summed up by Conway: "And when it is said that Horace and Vergil praised too highly and too soon what Augustus accomplished, let me suggest to you that it would be truer to say that they both dictated and inspired it. We owe it to them that for all time the notion of supreme power, the power of an actual monarch, not of a dreamland body of philosophers, was identified with transcendent but practical goodness, with beneficent toil, of which the whole world was the province."⁹ In truth we have travelled far by this time from those grateful praises of a patron which the *Culex* and the *Eclogues* tell.

Aside from this direct influence, these signs of the day are reflected indirectly in various details of Vergil's work. All the hope of the Trojans is centred in Aeneas; it is only of Aeneas that Palinurus thinks when tempted by persuasive Sleep. Aeneas sends none other, he declares, than his very Self to sue for the help of Evander; the Trojans, though longing sore for battle, may not leave their walls in the absence of their king. "There are no parties among the Trojans. They have no politics but loyalty to their prince. This means a certain lack of interest. The Trojans generally . . . 'want physiognomy.' Like the Romans under the later Emperors, they lack initiative; they are apt to be rather helpless, almost spiritless, when without their prince; and the life of the nation is summed up in the prince."¹⁰ Nor is Aeneas lacking in royal state. He is repeatedly spoken of as *rex*; "like an Alexander he dots the world with his foundations";¹¹ his son, "fairer than all other Trojan youths," is accompanied by the βασιλικοὶ παῖδες and entrusted to the care of a *paedagogus*.¹² The land owned by Latinus (*Aen.* IX, 274; XI, 316)¹³ corresponds to the royal demesne of the Ptolemies. The diplomacy for which Hellenistic kings were

⁹ "Horace as Poet Laureate," in "*Falernian Grapes*," ed. Rhys Roberts, 1917, p. 9.

¹⁰ Glover, *Studies in Virgil*,² 1912, p. 230. Cf. Nettleship, *Lectures and Essays*, 1886, *Suggestions Introductory to a Study of the Aeneid*, p. 103: "It is instructive to observe the similarity of language in which Aeneas is spoken of in the first and the Roman nation in the sixth book" (*Aen.* I, 263; VI, 851).

¹¹ Glover, *ibid.*, p. 228.

¹² *Aen.* V, 548 f.; 569; IX, 647 ff.; cf. the "rectores imperatoriae iuventae" of Nero's day.

¹³ Cf. Lersch, *Antiquitates Vergilianae*, 1843, p. 28.

justly famed reappears in the careful ponderings of Latinus,¹⁴ who, as the ambassador, Ilioneus, stands before him, considers the splendid gifts, and realizes the importance of a son-in-law who shall perpetuate his race in manliness and might of conquest over all the Latin world. Not piety alone is working here. So Aeneas, with similar policy, shows kindness to the wretched subjects of Latinus. Gercke has remarked that the great War is one of kings and their quarrels, not of peoples: so the Diadochi fought for their thrones.¹⁵ The subjects of Latinus try to make peace (XII, 584); and Aeneas himself answers the envoys (XI, 113 f.):

nec bellum cum gente gero: rex nostra reliquit
hospitia et Turni potius se credidit armis.

The honour of the king must be pre-eminent; and therefore Vergil carefully absolves Latinus from blame in transferring his support.¹⁶ At the same time, supreme as the kingly fame stands, Aeneas in giving the title of *socii* to his companions reminds us of the diplomatic friendships of the Hellenistic and the Augustan courts. Occasionally, too, here also is seen a touch of the old independence of spirit. Latinus must yield; Mezentius is dethroned; even Aeneas, as he confesses to Tar-chon, feels the instability of the affairs of men. We remember, in passing, the attitude of Vergil and Horace to their royal master.

In keeping with this importance of individual life, is the absorbing interest of the Hellenistic poet and his successors in personal detail. To this interest we may trace in part the care with which Vergil gives us touches descriptive of the dress of his heroes, the surroundings in which they live, natural or artificial, their very form and face. The pictures of Troy's great men which comfort Aeneas on his first landing in Carthaginian territory are directly due to the Hellenistic custom of introducing real portraits in historical panel scenes. Dido's

¹⁴ As of the kings of Apollonius: Mahaffy, *op. cit.*, p. 292; Couat, *La Poésie alexandrine*, 1882, p. 324.

¹⁵ *Die Entstehung der Aeneis*, 1913, p. 108.

¹⁶ (a) No very definite agreement had been made with Turnus regarding Lavinia; he was only wooing her, as were many others (VII, 54 f.): (b) the oracle bade Latinus join Aeneas, and he was a pious king: (c) the Latins forced the war: (d) he held aloof; see Gercke, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff.; Heinze, *Virgils Epische Technik*,³ 1915, pp. 174 ff.

palace boasts similar portraits, and its other adornments are carefully enumerated; the havens in which the Trojans land are constantly pictured, not only from delight in natural scenery, but as a background for the all-important human action therein; the gorgeous robes of Dido, the wild garb of Camilla's childhood, the splendid armour of heroes, the rustic equipment of Evander, are all in turn faithfully noted.

But there is another reason for study of detail. As in Hellenistic days the transferring of the political energies of independent citizens to the controlled work of a monarchical system set free many men, who, relieved of liturgies and civic duties, even encouraged by royal munificence, devoted themselves to study, so it was in Rome when the turmoil of Republican struggle gave way to the peace of an ordered land. Ptolemy established the great Museion and presided over a circle of eager scholars; Augustus founded the Library in the temple of Apollo, and called to the service of art the flower of the Golden Age. The result amid the Hellenistic poets was the growing up of a new habit of observation of detail, which tended to enrich and enliven all their story. Not only the beautiful, but the ordinary, even the repulsive, were examined and described in this zealous representing of reality. Herondas described the daily life of his time; Callimachus told of the poor old woman who gave welcome to Theseus in her cottage, and of the rustics who acclaimed his feat: told, in homely language, the care of Artemis for her horses and of Rhea for her new-born child. Theocritus described the daily life of Alcmene and her babes, or of Gorgo and Praxinoë. This same passion for realistic detail appeared in Hellenistic art in the conception of portraits, as that of Homer. "But when" wrote Vernon Lee "Greek art had run its course, when beauty of form had well-nigh been exhausted or begun to pall, certain artists, presumably Greeks, but working for Romans, began to produce portrait work of quite a new and wonderful sort. . . . And the secret of the beauty of these few Graeco-Roman busts, which is also that of Renaissance portrait sculpture, is that the beauty is quite different in kind from the beauty of Greek ideal sculpture, and obtained by quite different means."¹⁷ Of similar spirit are the

¹⁷"*Euphorion*," II, p. 24; quoted by Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 1907, p. 347. Baumgarten, *Die hellen. röm. Kultur*, 1913, p. 449, observes "the

natural backgrounds which replace the conventional settings of older Greece. The portrayal of still life and scenes of the genre type is especially associated with Hellenistic times, and in the hands of Peiraecus and his school must have widely influenced later work.

This tendency to exactness the young Roman poet of late Republican days first receives as part of his heritage from Alexandrian life and writings, then cultivates in his own life of leisurely watching of men and things. We come upon it in Catullus and in the early work of Vergil, where at times it offends us by its untimely appearance, and mars the effect of the whole. The description of birds and frogs in the *Culex* is scarcely poetical:

et quaqua geminas avium vox obstrepat aures,
hac querulas referunt voces, quis nantia limo
corpora lympha foveat . . .

Neither are the details of the metamorphosis of Scylla, which remind us of the similar description that spoils Horace's epilogue; nor the exact definition of the spot where the *culex* stung the shepherd—*qua diducta genas pandebant lumina*—. In like manner Catullus spoils the picture of Ariadne's passionate misery, as she dashes wildly into the surf:

mollia nudatae tollentem tegmina surae.

In the *Aeneid* Vergil allows us to imagine the process of a metamorphosis, or the details that add only frigid interest to the story. But his art embraces all sorts and conditions of men, and he willingly lingers in the description of simple scenes that he may bring them vividly before his readers: the stages by which the Trojans build a fire and bake their bread; the life of the country king, Evander; the play of the boys spinning their top, as they did in Alexandria in the time of Callimachus. The fisherman Menoetes, who knew not rich gifts, recalls the toilers of the sea in Theocritus; from Apollonius comes the glimpse of the woman who rouses the sleeping embers of her fire that even

difference between the relief of the Ara Pac. Aug. and that of the Parthenon of which the Ara superficially reminds one. The figures on the Parthenon frieze are ideal, those of the Ara are of men, women and children of the Imperial Court in their actual dress." See also Ernest Gardner, *Greek Sculpture*,² 1915, pp. 559 f.

by night she may toil to support her needy family. The descriptions of scenery—framed by *est locus*—and of dress, recall the miniatures of Hellenistic painting.

Realism, however, paints the beautiful no less than the humdrum things of everyday; and here, too, the youth in Vergil is father to the man. The *Aeneid* sparkles with the descriptive adjective, introduced just where it may attract the eye and vivify the scene: the art is of the poet's own genius, but has been trained in ways of skill as is any power of delineation. With such trained art Catullus reproduces the moment when Clodia breaks upon his solitude as he waits:¹⁸

quo mea se molli candida diva pede
intulit et trito fulgentem in limine plantam
innixa arguta constituit solea.

Vergil pictures for us Scylla, now dashing after her ball, as it runs to and fro, unconscious of her danger, her dress flying in the wind; now sick with panic, hardly daring to breathe, creeping at midnight down the stairs, scissors in hand. All is dark except the stars twinkling in the frosty sky. But the door creaks—just as Clodia's slipper did—it is all-important for the action of the poem. Examples could be multiplied: I will quote only one more picture, that of the shepherd and his flocks (*Cul.* 45 ff.):

propulit e stabulis ad pabula laeta capellas
pastor, et excelsi montis iuga summa petivit,
florida qua patulos velabant gramina colles.
iam silvis dumisque vagae, iam vallibus abdunt
corpora, iamque omni celeres e parte vagantes
tondebant tenero viridantia gramina morsu.
scrupea desertis haerebant ad cava ripis,
pendula proiectis carpuntur et arbuta ramis,
densaque virgultis avide labrusca petuntur;
haec suspensa rapit carpente cacumina morsu
vel salicis lentae vel quae nova nascitur alnus,
haec teneras fruticum sentes rimatur, at illa
imminet in rivi prostantis imaginis undam.

Already in the neoteric poets we see the painting of colour and sound for which the *Odes* of Horace and the *Aeneid* are famous.¹⁹ Heinze remarks the brightness of Book V: all the earth is green and all the company is joyous to celebrate the

¹⁸ Mr. Glover first pointed out to me the force of this picture.

¹⁹ See Roiron, *Étude sur l'imagination auditive de Virgile*, 1908.

games. So Catullus, by a similar repetition of descriptive adjective, had vividly drawn the sea flying with foam . . . *ventosum* . . . *aequor* (LXIV, l. 12) . . . *spumis incanduit unda* (l. 13) . . . *candenti e gurgite* (l. 14) . . . *gurgite cano* (l. 18); or the radiance of Peleus' home, decked for marriage rites . . . *fulgenti splendent auro atque argento* (l. 44) . . . *candet ebur* (l. 45) *collucent pocula* (l. 45) . . . *domus gaudet regali splendida gaza* (l. 46); or the blaze of Ariadne's passion: *flagrantia* . . . *lumina* ll. 91, 92) . . . *concepit* . . . *flamman* (l. 92) . . . *exarsit tota* (l. 93). In the second pastoral scene of the *Culex* (ll. 98-156) we find *viridem* . . . *muscum*; *luco* . . . *virenti*; *viridi* . . . *in herba*; *viridi pallore*; *susurrantis* . . . *lymphae*; *resonante susurro*; *aura susurrantis* . . . *venti*; together with seven lines charged with sound:

at volucres . . .
carmina per varios edunt resonantia cantus.
his suberat gelidis manans e fontibus unda,
quae levibus placidum rivis sonat acta liquorem.
et quaqua geminas avium vox obstrepat aures,
hac querulas referunt voces, quis nantia limo
corpora lymphæ foveat; sonitus alit aeris echo,
argutis et cuncta fremunt fardore cicadis.

But while the Hellenistic spirit devoted itself to the observation of life, it followed no less eagerly the study of written records; the Alexandrians have ever been reproached with their learning. Yet in itself, the love of study is excellent, and one recognizes in these scholars that same zeal for efficiency which animated all who sought to glorify their royal patron. So the young Vergil would gladly write a lofty poem of philosophy to glorify Messala, but his power is not ripe; in the *Culex* he promises Octavius a more worthy offering later on:

posterius graviore sono tibi musa loquetur
nostra, dabunt cum maturos mihi tempora fructus,
ut tibi digna tuo poliantur carmina sensu.

The declaration that a task is too great for one's powers—the *recusatio*—is indeed part of the literary tradition of the time, inherited from Alexandria.²⁰ Horace delights in it. Catullus sends his gift to Allius with an apology:

hoc tibi, quod potui, confectum carmine munus:

²⁰ Shorey, ed. Horace, *Car.* 1916, p. 162; Reitzenstein, *Neue Jahrb.*, XXI (1908), p. 84.

Vergil makes the same reflection:

fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,
nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo.

The effort to attain the highest is eminently worth while for the poet who holds in his power the unique gift of mindful song. If Horace at one moment deprecates his unworthy Muse, he is usually well aware of the value of his words:

non ego te meis
chartis inornatum silebo,
totve tuos patiar labores
impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
obliviones:

corresponds exactly to:

non ego te, Ligurum ductor fortissime bello,
transierim:

or:

nec tu carminibus nostris indictus abibis,
Oebale . . .

To the desire of attaining excellence, a desire springing obviously from his own character, but stimulated by his training, is due the care with which Vergil has treated many and various subjects in his work. It is instructive in this connection to compare the technical details concerning the customs and armour of the tribes in Vergil's catalogue with the lack of technicality in the Homeric list:²¹ to contrast his treatment of the healing of Aeneas with the Homeric tale of Glaucus, or his simile of the activity of the bees with that of the *Iliad* (II, 87 ff.): to note his acquaintance with details of agriculture, astronomy, navigation;²² one might well suppose him to be a specialist in many crafts. Suetonius attests his devotion "inter cetera studia" to medicine, mathematics, and law; "eminent lawyers have admired his knowledge of their profession; agriculturists and physicians have but imitated their admiration where they

²¹ Cf. Ehrlich, *Mittelitalien, Land und Leute in der Aeneide Vergils*, 1892.

²² Royds, *The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil*, 1914; Prosper Menière, *Études médicales sur les poètes latins*, 1858, pp. 131 ff.; Jal, *Virgilius Nauticus*, 1861, pp. 265 ff.; Segebade, *Vergil als Seemann*, 1895.

have each been best able to judge; as a rhetorician Macrobius prefers him to Cicero."²³ "Ancient commentators," remarks Sellar, "have drawn attention . . . to the exact acquaintance which Virgil shows with the minutiae of Pontifical and Augural lore."²⁴ Such scrupulous care to speak with the authority of the specialist in each sphere of knowledge is in complete harmony with the scientific spirit of the Hellenistic world.²⁵

In his early efforts Vergil is full of this fresh enthusiasm for learning, and cannot, as the neoterics in general, forbear to give it us. The list of subjects, mythological and historical, which he might have chosen instead of the *Culex*, the laboured introduction of the story of Agave, and the fables attached to the different trees in the shepherd's resting place, all savour of Hellenistic methods. The learned epithet meets one repeatedly. At times it is simply conventional, as in Carme's laden words:

Gnosia neu Partho contendens spicula cornu
Dictaeas ageres ad gramina nota capellas!

So wrote Horace in his *Odes*. The Hellenistic authors loved the unusual, the fanciful, even in their words: and at times Vergil's phrasing might merit the satire of Molière. Scylla is called "patris miseri patriaeque sepulchrum"; the sun is Hyperion, the *culex* is introduced as "parvulus umoris alumnus" without further naming; the nurse anxiously inquires of her charge:

nam qua te causa nec dulcis pocula Bacchi
nec gravidos Cereris dicam contingere fetus?

The word "Ceres" of the *Aeneid*, on the other hand, simply replaces "bread," according to common usage.

Even the Alexandrians, however, did not distribute their learned remarks at random. Mackail can write of the hymns of Callimachus as marked by a "fastidiousness, by an instinct for rejection which almost amounts to a passion"; Catullus carefully motivates the introduction of his story of Ariadne. Throughout the *Aeneid*, in contrast to the earlier work, this instinct of artistic selection is to be observed. Mirmont points

²³ Prentice, *The Philosophical Opinions of Vergil*, 1859, p. 7.

²⁴ Virgil,³ 1897, p. 374.

²⁵ Even so, as every one knows, the *Georgics* borrowed from Aristotle, Nicander, Theophrastus, Aratus, and Eratosthenes.

out cases where Vergil deliberately turns material, which in Apollonius is of only learned interest, to the greater glory of his country: as in the tracing of the Trojan race to Crete, and the honour done to the cult of Cybele. Aetiological tales are deftly introduced: the tale of Hercules and Cacus comes naturally from Evander, as does the description of the *Ludus Troiae* amid the sports of Anchises' memorial games, or the story of Hippolytus which enlivens the catalogue. There are numerous scientific details, but they usually serve rather to stimulate than annoy. The name of Byrsa is traced to the bull's hide; of the Laurentes to the laurel. The eponymous hero is sometimes mentioned: Romulus, Capys, Chaon; and the Latin name is preserved for evermore at Juno's urgent prayer. That matters of astronomy should be introduced is not surprising in view of Aratus' wide influence; but, like Callimachus, Vergil brought his scientific notes into harmony with his tale. It is entirely natural that the helmsman Palinurus should scan at midnight the stars that are passing in the silent sky; that Pallas, in his bright armour, should be likened to Lucifer as it comes from the ocean and drives away the gloom; that the swing and clash of battle should remind one of the hailstorm that rises out of the west under the rain-bringing Kids. The song of Iopas recalls Lucretian philosophy; so also the description of the shade that personates Aeneas:

morte obita quales fama est volitare figuras,
aut quae sopitos deludunt somnia sensus.

There is matter historical: the founding of Ardea by Danae or of Patavium by Antenor, and the tracing of the lineage of various noble houses; geographical: the formation of the strait between Italy and Sicily, the accurate description of the fruitful flood of the Nile, the definite local touch which marks so many of Vergil's similes; philological: the Greek derivation of Strophades, the changing of Camilla's name. Alexandrian, as Apollonius shows, is the frequent epithet which in Vergil marks the history of person or place. Nor does the love of the strange and novel fail to leave its mark. The Hellenistic metamorphosis appears in the tale of the changing of the ships into nymphs; in the story of Polydorus, which, with its realistic detail, savours of Hellenistic *ῥητορογράφου*, who dived even into lowest depths of

society in search of some new picture; in the reference to the changing of the followers of Diomedes into birds, and to Circe's transforming of Picus into a woodpecker, in revenge for her slighted love; in the story of Cynus, changed into a swan while grieving at the loss of his loved Phaethon. The last two of these stories are told in greater detail in that storehouse of Hellenistic tales, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; the story of Phaethon was popular among the Hellenistic and neoteric poets. The marvellous attack of the Harpies, the settling of Sleep upon the stern of Aeneas' boat, and his besprinkling of Palinurus with drops from the magic branch, all find their counterpart in Apollonius.

In this scholarly current, the remembrance of primitive days naturally finds a place. Sellar long ago wrote that "the Alexandrian Age had endeavoured to revive an interest in the heroic adventure of early or mythical times. It had recognized the principle that this distant background was essential to a poem of heroic action. . . ."²⁶ Varro, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Livy eagerly pursued the research into antiquities promoted by the scholars of Alexandria; Callimachus "introduces old myths for the sake of artistic contrast and of giving the glamour of historical truth to his narrative." Vergil constantly brings forward for the glory of Augustus the Trojan origin of the Roman race, and describes the celebrating before Aeneas of the *Ludus Troiae* which Augustus himself reinstated, as he did the old secular games. Alexander, also, had scrupulously observed the ancient religious rites, and had endeavoured to revive the old Greek games and festivals. Reverence for the past, as seen in the appeal to authority, especially that of tradition, a feature so marked in Hellenistic poetry, and in Catullus, appears also in varied form throughout the *Aeneid*. Furthermore, Vergil's description of the manners of the primitive tribes of Italy recalls that epic on the second Messenian War by Rhianus of Crete, who "had made special researches into the local antiquities of various cities" (Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*,² p. 293). But the old myths and stories must be told accurately; and the Alexandrians, as Norden points out, were keen to mark the correct version of a tradition.²⁷

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 298.

²⁷ Norden, ed. *Aeneid* VI,² 1916, p. 291; cf. Skutsch on this Alexandrian characteristic of the "author of the *Ciris*," *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, 1901, p. 80.

He compares the insistence in the story of Maia (*Aen.* VIII, 140) with Kaibel's example in Callimachus (*ad Art.* 172). In the story of Maia Aeneas confines his zeal to two lines, and the detail is of great moment to the occasion. In his earlier poems Vergil can delay his narrative to give differing versions or possibilities. The various stories of Scylla's fate are recited; the real cause is assigned to Juno's anger against her; the question of her guilt debated. The nurse interrupts her lamentations on her daughter's loss to discuss the theories attending that loss: a discussion natural in its place, but hardly appropriate in the midst of an attempt to console another girl, Scylla, racked with acute misery of mind and body. In the *Culex* the poet must tarry to wonder what induced the conquest of the serpent, or caused the storm that overcame Ajax.

For here we see that intellectual argument, that meticulous questioning for questioning's sake, in which the Hellenistic soul delighted, and the memory of which it handed down to stimulate its successors. And if debate was grateful over matters of outward accident, it was doubly welcome when it concerned the things of the mind or the heart. So, too, Vergil, growing up amid this spirit of probing into inner things, inspired by Euripides and by Euripides' followers, cares, above all, for the psychology of his tale. And whereas in Homer, descriptive epithets often refer to the outside man, as well as to his spirit, in the *Aeneid* the phrases—*pius Aeneas*, *fidus Achates*, *bonus Acestes*, or *magnanimus Volcens* rather direct our thoughts to the inner character. Masterly in its succinct force is the portrait of Aeneas, as King, Priest, War-Lord, drawn in two lines:

rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter,
nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis.²⁸

It is significant, too, that a student of Callimachus should begin his poem with the appeal:

Musa, mihi causas memora . . .

The Trojans, as they see the blaze of Dido's pyre, discuss its unhappy cause; the poet himself discusses the motives that lead Nautes to give his counsel regarding the Trojan weaklings, that

²⁸ Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1895, p. 31.

influence Latinus to welcome Aeneas, and the Rutuli to follow Turnus. Heinze mentions the detailed motives assigned for the pursuit of Chloereus by Camilla as savouring of the pragmatic historian, and characterizes the incident—that of Silvia's stag—which Vergil introduced into tradition for the more immediate deriving of the great war, as distinctly Hellenistic in nature. So Scylla had been ruined—by the careless throwing of a ball. And as the triviality of outward causes of great happenings may be placed by the artist in striking contrast with the description of their yield of tragedy, so, in contrast with the analysis of the workings of mind, the narrative of deeds is very slight. The description of the struggle between right and wrong in Medea's mind is of much greater importance to Apollonius than the telling of the deeds which follow. After the long struggle of Scylla comes the brief statement of the cutting of the lock, the taking of Megara, the punishment of the girl: then follows further analysis in her lament. In the *Aeneid* this insight into the human mind reaches its clearest expression with the development of the poet's own experience of his fellowmen. The most stirring story in the *Aeneid*—the Fall of Troy—is placed where it may directly move the heart of Dido; and yet this story itself is a record of mental struggle, between Laocoön and Sinon, between Aeneas' own desire and the bidding of Fate, between Anchises and Aeneas, between Aeneas' impulse to flee and his longing to seek his wife. The consummation of the *Aeneid*—the Fall of Turnus—is given but insignificant place in comparison with the sufferings of Turnus' mind as, despite himself, yet of his own will, he draws nearer to his death, a death which he owes directly to the issue of conflict in Aeneas' mind. It would be hard to find in so small a space greater play of feeling than these few words toward the end of the strife:

aestuat ingens
uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu
et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus.²⁹

But now we have passed from the intellectual analysis of mental action and reaction to the keen interest of understanding sympathy with mankind. It is, need one say? fundamentally essential to the understanding of Vergil that to the poet's own

²⁹ See Warde Fowler, *The Death of Turnus*, 1919, pp. 117 ff.

mind, character, heart, should be wholeheartedly attributed all that in the *Aeneid* reveals feeling for his fellows, whether dwelt on in their mass or as individual men or women. The sympathy of Aeneas with human joy and suffering springs directly from Vergil's own heart. The resemblances here traced concern only the surface of the poet's creative art; yet, I think, they are not without some interest as matter of comparison. The intimate knowledge of human nature, which every student of Vergil has admitted in his work, is obviously the poet's own, but he agrees with the manner of Hellenistic Comedy when he clearly distinguishes types of human character, and, as Heinze has noted, graphically paints details distinctive of nation, age, and sex. And indeed the ideal of the Roman Court reflected the liberal ideal of Alexander. All nations flocked into Rome; scholars, whatever their race or School—Athenodorus the Stoic, Xenarchus the Peripatetic, Didymus the Eclectic—were welcomed into the presence of Augustus; men of literary genius, whatever their standing in society, were invited to join the royal circle. It is true that the Roman still cherished the deeply rooted dislike for foreigners—Jews, Greeks, and Egyptians—which the Macedonians entertained toward barbarians; it is true also that the Romans had a national consciousness such as was never reached by the peoples of the Hellenistic realms, and that a Hellenistic parallel to the *Aeneid* never could have been produced;³⁰ but the way was always open to those, whatever their blood, who were able to rise through their own capability and the help of powerful friends. The cult of *humanitas* which had grown up in the days of Panaetius, of the younger Scipio and of Cicero, still continued its influence under the early Empire; though the cult lost definite shape, yet Panaetius' noble hope of transforming the Stoic kingship into an aristocracy of men whose aim was the uplifting, not merely of their own circles, but of all mankind, could not but leave its mark on thinkers of the succeeding generations.³¹ The introduction of oriental rites, practised by all without distinction of race, strengthened the feeling for a common nature of mankind.³² So Vergil pictures

³⁰ Cf. Schwartz, *Charakterköpfe*, II², 1911, p. 61.

³¹ *Ibid.*, I, 1903, pp. 88 f.

³² Cumont, *Oriental Religions*, trans. 1911, p. 28; Clifford H. Moore, *The Decay of Nationalism under the Roman Empire*, *Transactions of the A. P. A.* XLVIII (1917), p. 35.

the Roman Caesar uniting under his empire in long array subjects of manifold race, dress, and tongue. The mark of humanistic philosophy appears every now and again; now in general sympathy with human suffering:

sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt;

and:

non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco;

and in the *consolationes*, which remind us of that one probably addressed by Horace to Vergil himself;³³ thus Creusa comforts her distracted husband, and the old Nautes offers hope to Aeneas after the loss of his ships; or in the feeling for individual sorrow, even of hardened soldiers, for a miserable old woman:

hoc fletu concussi animi, maestusque per omnes
it gemitus: torpent infractae ad proelia vires.

Here there is once more need of care, lest undue influence be granted to the Hellenistic spirit in describing the emotional side of Vergil's work. As I have said, emotional experience found a peculiarly congenial place among the Hellenistic peoples; and their authors are as famed for their expression of this experience as they are for their intellectual ambitions. The sympathy of Nature with human joy or sorrow is strongly marked in their writings. All Nature mourns for Daphnis, for Adonis, for Bion; in Callimachus' verse, Nature is transformed into gold at Apollo's birth, or fears the wrath of Ares; river rejoices in Artemis, and sea keeps silence before Apollo. So in the *Aeneid*: Nature weeps for the loss of the fallen Umbro, and quakes with terror at the exploits of Hercules or the cry of Allecto, a touch borrowed directly from Apollonius; the Tiber ebbs in fear at the change worked in the ships, or marvels at the Trojan vessels, as it aids them to reach their journey's end. The Euphrates owns allegiance to Caesar, as the rivers stay their flow to do Messala reverence. The steadfast course of Nature in her familiar road symbolizes that which is familiar and welcome among men; discord in Nature sympathizes with strange and sad happenings in the human world. The Aufidus flees backward, declares Turnus, when Greeks

³³ Horace, *Car.* I, 24; Reitzenstein, *Neue Jahrb.* XXI (1908), pp. 82 f.: "so soll auch Vergil sich der Klage und der Klagelieder nicht schämen."

fear Trojan arms, and a conquered race prevails; so Daphnis bids all Nature run riot, since he must die.

The mention of flowers occurs in passages tinged with emotion. There is, indeed, nothing new to literature in this; the only point we need notice is this weaving of flowers into the emotional passages of epic or epyllion, where they might well attract more attention than in the more natural setting of Sappho's lyrics or Pindar's odes. Theocritus stays his verse to tell of the grasses around the well where Hylas falls to the arms of the Nymphs; Europa meets the bull as she plays among the hyacinths, the roses, and the violets of spring. Apollonius writes of Medea's love:

λαίνοτο δὲ φρένας εἴσω
τηκομένη, οἶόν τε περὶ ῥοδῆσιν ἔερση
τήκεται ἡφούσιν λαινομένη φαέεσσιν.

In the *Aeneid* Venus carries the sleeping Ascanius in her arms to Idalia:—

ubi mollis amaracus illum
floribus et dulci aspirans complectitur umbra.

We remember Evadne's babe:

ἀλλ' ἐν
κέκρυπτο γὰρ σχοίνῳ βατεῖα τ' ἐν ἀπειράτῳ,
ἰὼν ξανθαῖσι καὶ παμπορφύροις ἀκτῖσι βεβρεγμένος ἄβρὸν
σῶμα.

Euryalus fades in death as a crimson flower cut down by the plough; the body of Pallas lies in death like a soft violet, or like a hyacinth snapped from its stem by a girl's hand. Such pictures bring back the memory of Catullus' love, fallen like the flower touched by the passing plough at the meadow's end.

Neither does the animal world fail to contribute its touch of emotion. The story of Silvia's pet stag and its fate Heinze calls "hellenistisch-genrehaft," and would trace to some Hellenistic poem telling of the story of Cyparissus, as in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Alexandrians among the writers of the Palatine Anthology had also told of pets; the detail in Catullus and in later Latin poetry is known to all.

Among emotional tendencies of human life, the cult of friendship, as we have noted, was strongly marked in Hellenistic circles, and indeed rose directly from the circumstances of the time. This trait finds its corresponding place in the epic of

Rome. *Fidus* is the epithet chosen for Achates and for Orontes; the group of followers mourned by Aeneas after the great storm, reminds us of Augustus' official "friends." The story of Nisus and Euryalus, and of their enterprise, beginning with merry contest in sport and ending in death, differs utterly in spirit from the quest of Diomedes and Odysseus, to which it bears certain external resemblances; Diomedes chooses Odysseus on the ground of expediency, not friendship; no tragic end seals their union. The tale of Vergil's two heroes, as that of Cynus' love for Phaethon, rather recalls the Hellenistic fable of the bond between Heracles and the boy Hylas.³⁴ A reference to love of man for boy—such as the Alexandrians knew it—is found in the second *Eclogue*,³⁵ and in the description of Cydon's stream of erotic adventure in Book X.

When, however, we come to the painting of human emotion, so far as Vergil depended at all on literary forerunners to help him express his own concepts, he drew from Attic tragedy more than from its later imitators. This tragic influence on the *Aeneid* has been dealt with in many works;³⁶ I may merely note here traces of resemblances where both Rome and Alexandria have drawn from the older Greek poetry. Among the characters of the *Aeneid*, a prominent place is given to those who allow of emotional display, and persons of minor importance are introduced to lead up to this element; to Hylas, Alcimede, Gorgo and Praxinoë, correspond in this respect Aegeus, Amata, Nisus and Euryalus. The emotions of private life are constantly brought into prominence against the setting of the heroic in that contrast so characteristic of Alexandrian poetry. Love entangles Vergil's hero in the same romanticism which could cast its glamour about the cold Achilles of Homeric tale;³⁷ and Jupiter strives to dry the tears of Hercules for the son called by inevitable Fate. Sorrow is described by means of the conventional lament of parent for son; as Alcimede and Aegeus mourn, so do Evander, the mother of Euryalus, and Amata. It is in order that the son should be an only one, the

³⁴ De Witt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid*, 1907, pp. 14, 15.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13; Suet. *Vita Verg.* 9.

³⁶ E.g., Nettleship, Sellar, Glover, De Witt, *opp. citt.*; Rand, *Virgil and the Drama*, *Class. Journal* IV (1908); etc., etc.

³⁷ Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, 1900, pp. 109 f.

comfort of his parents' old age, that death should be held preferable to this loss, that men or maids should surround the mourner to render sympathy or practical help. So act the Greek tragic Chorus. The story of Achaemenides is introduced by Vergil, in the tragic manner, in order to excite sympathy with suffering; in pitiful appearance and supplication the Greek resembles Phineus among the Argonauts, and is in keeping with the spirit of the Pergamene School and the Laocoön of Rhodes. Horror is inspired, as the Alexandrians loved to inspire it, by the battle in burning Troy and the violence of Pyrrhus' deeds; crude force awakens wonder in the wanton slaughter of the ox by Entellus during the funeral games.

Running throughout Hellenistic descriptions of emotional experience there is a certain lack of depth; at times the story is crude and lacking in subtlety, at times it is conventional. For nothing else is this truer than for the central emotion of love, on which the Hellenistic poets delighted to dwell. It is, especially, the passion of the woman for the man; for love, from the time of Euripides onwards, is the "sickness sent by the god," against which the soul in its weakness struggles, but in vain.³⁸ The dignity of older drama, we remember, would have none of it:

οὐδ' οἷδ' οὐδεὶς ἦντιν' ἐρώσαν πώποτ' ἐποίησα γυναῖκα.

But with Euripides, the Realist, grew up a desire of analysing this victimizing passion, as part of the phenomena of the actual world; his followers in Hellenistic circles eagerly seized the task of probing the heart no less than the mind, and handed on this attractive problem to their Roman pupils. Did not Parthenius himself write *Love Tales*? Catullus and Vergil must try their hand at this theme which figured so largely in their lesson-books.

And, indeed, whether as a source of emotional, or of intellectual, inspiration, woman was prominent in Vergil's world. If we turn a moment from books to real life, we remember that in Rome, as in Greece, with the rising of the individual man to arbitrary control, came woman's increased opportunity.³⁹

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

³⁹ Helbig, *Campanische Wandmalerei*, 1873, p. 191.

Livia was almost to Augustus as Berenice to Ptolemy, and her Emperor-consort frequently sought her counsel. The royal ladies were well versed in literature, a philosopher dedicated his work to Octavia, and before her and Augustus Vergil read the sixth book of his *Aeneid*. From the words of the Stoic Aureus, Livia gained consolation after the death of Drusus; philosophy was studied among women, and Plutarch advised for them instruction in science. It is not surprising, then, to find that Iopas entertains the guests of Dido with Lucretian questions of suns and stars, though comment both ancient and modern has approved on other grounds the choice of philosophic song for the queen's court. The rule of Carthage centres in its monarch, as did the government of Ptolemy or of Mithridates; in independence and ambition Dido is their equal⁴⁰—*dux femina facti*—and she was leader, moreover, as Kvíčala reminds us,⁴¹ of a race *intractabile bello*. Her royal state entirely resembles that of the Egyptian queen;⁴² and the remembrance of Cleopatra was fresh in the poet's mind.⁴³ We may think here of Nettlehip's parallel from the other end of the story: "As Caesar was half won by Cleopatra, Aeneas is half won by Dido."⁴⁴ Hecuba controls her aged husband-king; the spirit of Creusa counsels Aeneas. The burning jealousy of Juno is skilfully described; the passionate struggle between her and her rival goddess is well contrasted with the few calm words of Jupiter, and might recall

⁴⁰ So Mahaffy (*op. cit.*, p. 291) remarks Medea's "strength of will and determined action as compared with Jason. . . . It is she who has to propose every plan; it is she who flies alone and unsolicited through the night, and hails the ship to take her on board. It is she who, to defeat the various efforts made by her father to recover her, supplicates, upbraids, and objurgates, while the heroes show her very lukewarm courtesy."

⁴¹ *Vergil-Studien*, 1878, p. 105. He compares (p. 146) the rule of Dido in Carthage with that of the women in Lemnos described by Apollonius.

⁴² Cf. that of Medea in Apollonius. Mahaffy notes (*op. cit.*, p. 292): "The respect with which Medea is treated when she appears in the street (III, 885) is very different from the independent criticism of the Phaeacians upon Nausicaa or even Arete."

⁴³ Warde Fowler, *Rel. Exp. of the Roman People*, 1911, p. 415: "It is to me inexplicable . . . that neither Heinze nor Norden should have even touched on the possibility that Cleopatra was in the poet's mind when he wrote the fourth book."

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

many a stormy scene among ladies of Hellenistic courts.⁴⁵ It is women who fire the Trojan ships, Dido who fires a funeral pyre—*notumque furens quid femina possit*. The martial spirit of Hellenistic royal women is exactly pictured in Camilla, who comes to help Turnus, to his deep gratitude. The fury of the queen Amata, goading on her women in rebellion, recalls Olympias, mother of Alexander; Olympias would have none of Philip Arridaeus and Eurydice, for they were not born of Macedonian race: Amata will have none of the foreigner who seeks to oust her chosen Turnus *avis atavisque potens*. Nettleship notes the resemblance:⁴⁶ "the description of the queen (i.e., Amata), and more particularly the *ingens coluber* in which the frenzy is embodied (VII, 352) recalls Plutarch's description of the Bacchanalian celebrations of Olympias (*Alex.* 2):

ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάς μᾶλλον ἐτέρων ζηλώσασα τὰς κατοχὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμοὺς ἐξάγουσα βαρβαρικώτερον ὅφεις μεγάλους χειροῇθευς ἐφέλλκετο τοῖς θιάσοις, οἳ πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ κιττοῦ καὶ τῶν μυστικῶν λίκνων παραναδύμενοι καὶ περιελιττόμενοι τοῖς θύρσοις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς στεφάνοις ἐξέπληττον τοὺς ἄνδρας."

If, again, the Diadochi supported their insecure claims to royal power by marriage, we need not forget that the whole struggle of Aeneas and Turnus was centred about the hope of Lavinia's hand and her father's throne.

Woman, then, was of material interest and importance in life, as she was in literature, also, from the time of Euripides. But the Hellenistic poets did not care especially to dwell on Phaedras or Stheneboeas. One of their favourite types of woman is the sylvan huntress, all pure in her simple life among woods and woodland creatures, untouched by passion of man.

⁴⁵ Cf. Sellar, *op. cit.*, p. 366; and Warde Fowler, *Virgil's Gathering of the Clans*, pp. 39 f.: "Emphatically we may say that in the *Aeneid* she (Juno) represents the feminine temper, or at least some aspects of it which were well known in the last century B.C. Dr. Glover has rightly pointed out that she also in the poem stands for a false idea of empire. . . . This idea of empire is false not only because it is backed up by a great female *numen*, whose temper is irreconcilable with the large masculine benevolence of Jupiter, but because, with the aid of that *numen*, it is embodied in a woman, Dido, foreshadowing the beautiful dangerous queen of Virgil's own day."

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 109, note 3.

So Vergil painted Camilla.⁴⁷ The other is the girl of royal birth wrapped in like purity,⁴⁸ suddenly attacked by the god of mischief—the boy and his wanton arrow. Her high birth gives poignancy to the *περιπέτεια* which ensues: her fall from the happiness of innocence to the knowledge of despair. As it is constantly the untried girl who is the victim, so constantly the passion inspired by Cupid must struggle with conscience, and conscience yields to its stress. But the struggle itself is not tragic unto death: Medea's tragedy is yet many years distant at the end of the *Argonautica*—

μνήσατο μὲν τερπνῶν, δσ' ἐνὶ ζωοῖσι πέλονται,
μνήσαθ' ὁμηλικίης περιγηθέος, οἷά τε κούρη·

Iacchus comforts Ariadne; Scylla and Tarpeia suffer an involuntary punishment inflicted from without.

It is in this skilful painting of the battle between passion and conscience that the Vergilian epyllion heralds the epic. The very first word of the narrative of the *Ciris* is *impia*—followed by *exterrita*; skilfully the poet thus arouses with a touch both censure and sympathy before he gives any details of the crime. It is against her father that Scylla sins—*scelerata*: yet did she know what she did?

quis non bonus omnia malit
credere, quam tanto sceleris damnare puellam?

So Vergil works upon our critical faculties, and now we blame and now we excuse. Yet to no avail; the end is the same:

heu tamen infelix: quid enim imprudentia prodest?

For the passion is irresistible—*neque est cum dis contendere nostrum*—that Juno, for her jealousy, sends upon the girl. Her crime stands out, when it is finally accomplished, as strongly as her love: she is both a traitor to her father and her fatherland. There is no mistake about her guilt in the eyes of any one, only excuse. Medea, likewise, slays her brother for her love, and Ariadne allows her brother's death:

eripui et potius germanum amittere crevi
quam tibi fallaci supremo in tempore deessem.

⁴⁷ De Witt, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁴⁸ Mahaffy, p. 291.

This is the elementary motive which Vergil transferred to his story of Dido, and enriched and deepened till it is altogether transfigured.⁴⁹ Dido is not merely of royal birth: she is a queen in her own right, ruling a warlike folk; hers is no mere untried innocence, ignorant of suffering, but a purity of conscious determination, the outcome of sorrow and knowledge of ill. Proudly she has stood firm in her resolve to have nought more of man's wooing and man's love. Then, not through a mere glimpse of a stranger within her gates or without her walls, but through her quick human feeling she meets her destiny:

non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.

The Cupid of the *Aeneid* is not the spoiled child of the *Argonautica*, or the heartless youth of Catullus, or the wilful son of the *Ciris*, but the obedient son; Venus does not seek to win his help by bribes of playthings, but appeals to his sympathy for his brother in distress. The heart of Dido is not penetrated by a wanton arrow swiftly sent, but through the warmth of her own mother-love. She is as ignorant as Scylla of the attack of the god—*inscia . . . insidat quantus miserae deus*—yet here, too, there is a struggle between right and wrong when once her love reveals itself. There is no gross complication of ethics in this case; no one could imagine Vergil's heroine betraying or murdering her kin. But is she to keep her own high standard of resolve? To be untrue to her vow of chastity is a crime; *culpa* she calls it. And she starts out in her brave spirit to down this thing:

sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
vel Pater omnipotens abigat me fulmine ad umbras,
pallentes umbras Erebo noctemque profundam,
ante, Pudor, quam te violo, aut tua iura resolvo.
Ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores
abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulcro.

She has a girl's shame before the admission of her love. Scylla can hardly bring herself to mention Minos:

dicendum est, frustra circumvehor omnia verbis:

Dido will not mention Aeneas to Anna by name; *hic hospes* is enough.

⁴⁹ De Witt, *op. cit.*; Glover, *op. cit.*, chapter VIII.

Like all the others, she yields, and she suffers; her suffering is thrown into greater shadow because Aeneas in deserting her, rather—so Vergil would have us believe—regains faithfulness to duty than abandons it. But, unlike the others, there is for her no comfort, no amelioration of her fate—*Moriemur inultae, sed moriamur*. She alone gives herself to death; and her fate strikes pity and fear in so much the greater degree as she excelled other victims in her former triumph;

illa ego sum Nisi pollentis filia quondam:

cries Scylla dragged through the waves;

felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae:

cries Dido as she mounts the funeral pyre.

CHAPTER III

THE INFLUENCE OF HELLENISTIC LIFE AND LITERATURE (B)

Without in any way attempting to enter into a discussion of Vergil's views—Stoic or Epicurean¹—we may note, furthermore, in the *Aeneid* some traces of the trend of the times in matters of the soul. We have observed that as in the things pertaining to the mind or heart, so in those of the soul, the individual of Hellenistic times was engrossingly absorbed in himself. The more educated man felt but formal need of higher beings; to his own efforts should his own success be due. This independence is reflected in literature. Neither in Apollonius nor in Vergil do the gods dwell among mankind as in the Homeric day. It is true that, as Gercke points out, Vergil makes use of an extraordinary detail of religious apparatus for the furthering of the destiny of Aeneas and his companions; but it is apparatus clearly external to the inner life of the poem. Zeus dwells far apart, as the almost impersonal arbiter of Fate. No idea of his appearance can be gathered from either poet; each shows reserve in dealing with the human passions of Zeus of which Homer freely spoke. Prayers are no more the daughters of Zeus; Anchises doubts whether they avail to move him. Pallas feels no fear of unseen principalities and powers:

numina nulla premunt, mortali urgemur ab hoste
mortales . . .

The other gods, with the exception of Apollo in the *Argonautica* and of Venus in the *Aeneid*, take very little part in the action; a situation strongly in contrast with their energetic interest, amounting even to actual war, in the progress of the battle before Troy. Few details are given concerning them, but Venus, when she appears to Aeneas, entirely resembles an earth-born huntress, bare of knee, and scant of skirt; when she manifests herself as true goddess, her rose-hued neck shines forth, her hair exhales sweet perfume, her dress falls to her feet—details worthy of Apollonius' picture of Cypris combing her hair.

¹ For example, I do not deal here with Book VI, discussed by Norden and many others.

In like fashion the ancient worship of the gods, as at Alexandria, so at Rome, was useful to the Emperors as machinery for the promotion of their state craft, but had little influence upon the practice of individual citizen life. As the Ptolemies leaned on Heracles and Dionysus, so Augustus diplomatically honoured the cult of Vesta and of Apollo. Vergil is careful for the glory of Rome to emphasize the Trojan origin of Vesta and the Penates—a dogma first established in the time of Caesar and Augustus²—and Augustus' devotion to Apollo, whose seer, Helenus, plays so important a part in the guidance of Aeneas' destiny.

For individual consolation, the lower classes of Vergil's City were turning to Hellenistic deities, while at the same time "the syncretic tendencies of Egypt responded admirably to those that began to obtain at Rome,"³ reflected in the supremacy of the Jupiter of the *Aeneid*. And other traces of the newer developments in religion appear. Anchises mentions Crete as the home of Cybele and her Corybants and yoked lions; Aeneas, the ancestor of Rome, is represented twice as offering prayer to the Phrygian Mother of the Gods. Yet she, too, must sue for favour from her greater son; and in general we find here the antagonism of the philosophic thinkers to strange worship of foreign gods. Evander declares of the sacrifice to Hercules:

non haec sollemnia nobis,
has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum
imposuit.⁴

the conflict rages between Gods of Egypt and of Rome:

omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis
contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam
tela tenent . . . :

all flee in panic at the sight of the drawn bow of the Apollo of Actium, and Caesar offers thanksgiving to the gods of Italy. Even the orgies of the Great Mother are fit for women rather

² Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 1902, p. 148.

³ Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 88; De Witt, *Virgil and Apocalyptic Literature*, *Class. Journal*, XIII (1918), pp. 605 f.

⁴ Nettleship, *op. cit.*, p. 134 f. Warde Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, 1917, p. 57, remarks on these lines: "There is here no doubt an allusion to Augustus' distrust of new foreign worships, especially that of Isis, which had been showing itself while the *Aeneid* was being written . . . "

than men, and the flute of Bacchus ranks among the dissipations of love-sick youths. The spread of magic art in Rome drew forth the legislation of Augustus. Vergil's knowledge of the black art is, of course, best revealed in the *Ciris* and the eighth *Eclogue*, where Carme and Alpheisiboeus recall Simaetha; and in the fourth book of the *Aeneid*. Of the description of Umbro and his skill in Book VII Fahz remarks: "quibus locis nihil fere nisi usitatissimae res exhibentur, quas quivis Romanus illis temporibus noverit."⁵ De Witt sees a hint of the prejudice against magic practices in Rome in the lines of Book IV:

testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque
dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artis;

and reminds us: "that in the latter part of the *Aeneid* the powers of the nether world are on the side of Rome's enemies."⁶ The song of Iopas brings us within the realm of astrology, and there was a general belief, even in the Imperial Court of Vergil's day, in astrological cult. Sinon appeals to the divine will of the stars; Helenus and Asilas can interpret their meaning. Achaemenides cries in entreaty:

per sidera testor,
per superos atque hoc caeli spirabile lumen, (v.l. numen)
tollite me, Teucri . . .

At the moment of the fulfilment of his hope in at length gaining the destined shore, Aeneas himself prays to Night and the rising signs of Night; on the brow of the victorious Augustus shines the Star of his house, a token first vouchsafed to Julius Caesar.

The personality conceived of as animating the stars is read in a lesser degree into other aspects of Nature: the hostile

⁵ *De poetarum Romanorum doctrina magica*, 1904, pp. 145 f. He continues: "Sed ne haec quidem intimam rerum magicarum scientiam redolent, quare in Vergilio libenter concedo posse dubitari utrum res magicae haustae sint e vulgari magiae cognitione an descriptae adhibito auxilio nescio quo. Tamen reliquos si spectamus auctores, in hanc sententiam inclinem." Here Fahz cites Norden (*Aen.* VI,² p. 199) on the influence of the Hellenistic *Zauberliteratur* upon Vergil and other Augustan poets. Cf. also Reitzenstein, *Die hellen. Mysterienreligionen*, 1910, p. 12, on the work of Nigidius Figulus, as early as Cicero's time, in Hellenistic magic.

⁶ *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid*, p. 23; cf. Nettleship, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Glover, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

shower, the threatening cliffs, the quivering shade. The same tendency pervades the *Georgics*.⁷ In personification expressed by allegory the most prevalent figures are Fama, the description of whom by Vergil has given rise to so many imitations, and Fortuna, whose cult developed under the stress of the later Roman republican days as did that of Τύχη in the Hellenistic age. But, while the cult of Fortune was becoming steadily more prominent under Augustus, in the *Aeneid* it is not the Τύχη of "universal power," that goddess whom Hellenistic influence introduced indeed into Latin lyric poetry of the Empire, but the Roman *Fortuna populi Romani* who guides the Trojans throughout their journeyings and their strife, from the time when Aeneas "profugus fato" sets sail from Troy, to the time when Turnus utters his last cry to his despairing sister:

iam iam fata, soror, superant; absiste morari;
quo deus et quo dura vocat Fortuna, sequamur.

How fundamentally the Fortuna of the *Aeneid* differs from the Hellenistic Τύχη may be seen in Warde Fowler's words: "For Virgil, when Rome or Aeneas or even Evander his predecessor and ally is in question, Fortuna is the same thing as Fate, or Providence, or the will of Jupiter representing the Divine government of the world, or the Destiny of the Stoics."⁸

Amid the swaying current of destiny, when men were so keenly conscious of success and failure, it is no marvel that Godhead was attributed to the one who had achieved most and had brought all under his control; or that Augustus, like the Diadochi, willingly entertained this support, and consented to receive homage in his own divinity, or as some one of the Gods incarnate upon earth. He thus appears as Mercury, the restorer of trade after the war, with Livia as Ceres, the bestower of plenty.⁹ And if in Egypt the cult of the Pharaoh made Godhead easier of attainment by the Diadochi, in Rome also the uplifting of morality and the advancement of the State were inextricably interwoven with the State religion, and he who

⁷ Lünzner, *Ueber Personifikationen in Vergils Gedichten*, 1876.

⁸ Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 1914, *sub voc.*; so Heinze, *op. cit.*, p. 293. Cf. Warde Fowler, *Class. Review*, XVII (1903), pp. 153; 445; and *Roman Ideas of Deity*, 1914, p. 77.

⁹ Wissowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 247 ff.

succeeded in helping the State toward a better and purer life was easily identified with the Gods to whom the Romans looked for such aid. The poets readily received this idea of a divinity won by merit.¹⁰ In the *Aeneid* Jupiter promises, and Anchises prophesies, a deification of Caesar laden with Oriental spoil; of Augustus, restorer of the Golden Age to Rome. Sellar (*Virgil*, 1897, p. 16) cites in this connection Horace: *Odes* III, 3, 9; *Epistles* II, I, 5; and *Aeneid* VI, 801: "in all these passages the idea implied is that, as great services to the human race have in other times raised mortals from earth to heaven, so it shall be with Augustus after the beneficent labours of his life are over." He notes also: "these comparisons may be more naturally referred to Roman "Euhemerism," than to the survival of the spirit of hero-worship, which, although still active in Greece, was a mode of feeling alien to the Roman imagination." The belief in reward based on merit appealed, of course, especially to the practical Roman.¹¹ Aeneas, when he has founded his great race, shall reap in like fashion his reward. So declare the Penates:

idem venturos tollemus in astra nepotes
imperiumque urbi dabimus. Tu moenia magnis
magna para longumque fugae ne linque laborem.

Of Iulus Apollo declares:

macte nova virtute, puer: sic itur ad astra;

so Dardanus, and so Pandarus won immortality.

Few traces were left, then, of uncritical acquiescence in the orthodox tenets of a former day. We find here the same rationalism that, already, in the decline of the Republic, had

¹⁰ But cf. Warde Fowler on the "apotheosis" passages of Vergil and Horace: "You have only to examine them to see that they represent Augustus not as a deity, but as having the germ of a deity in him, which may be developed at his death; and that the farthest length they go is to assume proleptically in imagination that this development has already taken place." (*Roman Ideas of Deity*, p. 126.)

¹¹ "A great Roman governor often had the chance of thus helping humanity on a vast scale and liked to think that such a life opened the way to heaven": Gilbert Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, 1912, pp. 139 f. Cf. Kiessling on Horace's portrayal of Augustus as divine giver of prosperity, *Phil. Unters.* II (1881), p. 92, note.

attracted so many to the teachings of Epicurus, against which Poseidonius had endeavoured, contrary to older Stoic practice, to encourage scientific research in support of the Stoic faith.¹² Miracles need apology in this rationalistic age. Legrand has remarked the little details which Theocritus adds to the story of the strangling of the serpents by Heracles in order to make this story appear more probable—the age of the child, the hour at which the deed was done, the light sent by Zeus. In similar fashion Vergil treats marvels, as Heinze has shown in comparing the miraculous healing of Hector by Apollo in the *Iliad* with that of Aeneas at Venus' hand; the latter is a marvel, but a marvel naturally worked out. Vergil is half-ashamed to tell the wonderful transformation of the ships, and must support his tale with reference to long-standing belief; so Apollonius, in deference to the Pierides and as a concession to rumour, tells of the bearing of the *Argo* over the Libyan sands. Neither his office nor his holy life save Apollo's priest, Panthus, from death, just as augury cannot protect Turnus' favourite, Rhamnes; Palinurus would trust his own knowledge of seamanship before the assurance of the king of Gods and men himself; in two passages (XI, 118; XII, 538, 539) *deus* and *dextra* are used in an almost parallel fashion. The Stoic *ratio physica* seems to be reflected, as Heinze suggests, in the prayer of Nisus to Luna in the ninth book; and in the bow of a thousand colours which Iris, the glory of Heaven, traces across the sky. And yet, as Reitzenstein points out,¹³ Stoic philosophy sought no quarrel with Hellenistic religion, but rather sympathy: "with the rise of monarchies we find systematic attention paid for the first time to the religious feelings of the people in general, at all times a necessary measure in Oriental politics. Stoic philosophy adapted itself to this endeavour: gave to Apologetics a place in literature, explained the Gods as ideas or powers of Nature, and Myths in allegorical fashion. Thus, first for the Greek, and shortly after for Oriental religions, it succeeded in attaining a *tolerari posse*, a proof, appealing to the intellect, that popular belief and the scientific lore of the savant need not war one on the other."

¹² See Schwartz, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 93 ff.

¹³ *Die hellen. Mysterienreligionen*, pp. 3 f.

Other philosophical elements may easily be traced; the prevalent intellectual debate arises in Nisus' question:

sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?

the eternal moral questioning in Sinon's well-feigned scruples:

fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere iura,
fas odisse viros, atque omnia ferre sub auras;

and in the question of Coroebus:

dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?

The joy of the Simple Life occurs again and again, now voiced by the lips of Evander:

aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis;

now straight from the poet's own heart:

nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae
et servare modum, rebus sublata secundis!

and now in the words of his hero:

quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
auri sacra fames . . .

Sychaeus is blind with love of gold, Oebalus in discontent with his father's estate oppresses other men, to the Golden Age succeeds an age of evil hue, spoiled by the growing desire for gain. Back to the life of harmony with Nature! So preached the Hellenistic Stoics, so preached the Roman Stoicism reflected by Vergil here. And so we reach that vital doctrine of its philosophy: submission to the will of Fate. *Dis aliter visum*—says the poet of the death of righteous Rhipeus, and Nautes thus consoles Aeneas:

nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur;
quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.¹⁴

Above all, the *Aeneid* reflects Hellenistic philosophy in its emphasis upon the individual soul. Aeneas, against his will, is drawn forward to his high adventure; so the Hellenistic philosopher, so Vergil himself, found his happiness in ἀπραγμοσύνη. The first six books reveal the hero's weaknesses, his

¹⁴ Reitzenstein, *Neue Jahrb.* XXI (1908), p. 82.

terror, his shrinking, his foolishness: as these traits are revealed in every man whom his better self sends forward to achieve his destiny. Through error, trial, and failure, he progresses, slowly yet surely choosing τὸ προηγμένον, the better thing, till with the progress of the work he, too, progresses to conquest. Finally, as the Sapiens was the hope of ordinary men in Hellenistic days, as thinkers desired to see this hope fulfilled in Alexander; so in Aeneas, the Philosopher-King, brought to his goal by Fate, the guiding hand of God, through triumph over every hostile force, lies the final hope for all the race who shall draw from him their common life.

CHAPTER IV

THE INFLUENCE OF HELLENISTIC TECHNIQUE

—A—

Contributing alike to Vergil's thought and the form in which he clothes it, is the art of the *Aeneid*, as Heinze and Norden have traced it: "the constructive and architectural power which was part of his own gift from nature, and which he slowly developed through unceasing study."¹ This art Vergil owes in appreciable measure to Hellenistic fineness of perception; for he adopted certain of the technical expedients of his predecessors. Thus, for example, effects are heightened by the employment of the principle of contrast. In Theocritus, also, light is contrasted with shadow: realistic with heroic narrative in the story of the infant Heracles, comedy with tragedy in the *Adoniazusae*. In Apollonius the secure joy of the Colchians in possession of the fleece and their hope of safe return are rudely broken by terror at the anger of Zeus; the misery of the Syrtes follows hard upon wedding joy; grief for Idmon and Tiphys follows the mirth of the feast. The vision of Apollo at dawn, the sight of the wretched Phineus, the attack of the bird of Ares, fall with sudden joy, pity, and fear upon the heroes; the stories of Medea, the earthborn men, the sons of Phrixus, come suddenly before the readers.

Again, Carl Newell Jackson has remarked:² "It is an essential feature of the Alexandrian school of poetry to allow one literary form to encroach upon the province of another. Hence the epyllion is apt to be a complex of at least two different forms. The twenty-fifth poem of Theocritus, for instance, is really an epic idyl within a pastoral setting. . . . The thirteenth idyl, the episode of Heracles and Hylas, is an epyllion set in an elegiac frame. . . . It remained, however, for the Latin poets, ambitious to be original, to develop this idea of merging two forms in one poem, or rather of setting one form within another. In his sixty-fourth poem Catullus has put the lyric lament of

¹ Mackail, *Lectures on Poetry*, 1911, p. 55.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 42; cf. Mackail, *Lectures on Greek Poetry*, 1910, p. 252.

Ariadne, descriptive entirely, within a piece of pure narrative, that is, a romantic within an epyllion almost heroic, and then, to boot, following the heroic epyllion an epithalamium which is essentially a variation of the elegiac genus. The Aristaeus episode in the fourth book of the *Georgics* follows a somewhat similar arrangement, in that the lament of Orpheus is preceded and followed by the Aristaeus epyllion. The author of the *Ciris* outdid all his fellow-poets by combining epic, lyric, and dramatic elements, and then adding to the mixture a bit of didactic verse, and closing this effort with a metamorphosis, a form distinct in itself. Finally in the *Culex*, the epyllion lies side by side with the pastoral. None of these poets, it would seem, had learned the Theocritean or the Virgilian art (as it appears in the *Aeneid*) of weaving these separate threads into a single texture. The step from epic to lyric, or epic to pastoral, or epic to elegy is too abrupt, with the result that unity of effect is destroyed." I would note in the *Aeneid* the maturing of the art of that same poet of the *Ciris* and the *Culex*. The ninth book of the *Aeneid* might be taken as an example of Vergil's skilled mingling of the various threads in his artistic web. Here we find the didactic element, illustrated in the description of the sluggish Ganges with seven mouths, the psychological question as to whence comes fell desire, the frigid derivation of the name Albani; the lyric element inspires the poet's memorial to the fallen heroes and the cry of the mother over her son; the dramatic instinct is responsible for the exciting story of the capture in the moonlight which filters through the darkness of the wood.

Another detail of technique seen in the *Aeneid*, the artistic introduction of *ecphrasis*, is rightly referred by Heinze to Hellenistic precedent. Theocritus' description of the bowl arouses the desire of Thyrsis to sing, and the erotic and rustic characters described are entirely in keeping with the shepherd's life; Moschus in the story of Europa chose well to inscribe on his bowl the fate of Io; the mantle of Jason is described in order to enhance Hypsipyle's desire, and Apollonius was careful to show Phrixus and the fleece in the embroideries thereon. The influence of *ecphrasis* upon descriptive narrative is interesting; the expressions *at parte ex alia . . . alia parte . . . diversa in parte* in literary descriptions of life point to this model, and one

wonders if literary contrast was furthered by the scenes contrasted in Hellenistic embroideries and paintings. How strong this influence was in Latin poetry is shown both in actual description and by the words of the youthful Vergil, who would gladly weave a philosophic song to Messalla's glory as tapestries wove the fame of heroes and gods.

In this *ecphrasis* we trace one of the most prominent details of Vergil's form: concentration, due partly to Callimachus, partly, as Heinze remarks, to the practical requirements of recitation. Vergil, like Apollonius, begins quickly or passes suddenly from the heroic to the erotic sphere; the abrupt transitions in minor details, the parenthetic remarks, and the neat proverbial sayings of the *Aeneid* point to the Alexandrians and the Latin neoteric school. Traces of the Hellenistic epigram can at times also be found; as in the address of the living to the dead, Caieta and Palinurus (VII, I-4; V, 870-871), in the words of the spirit of Creusa to the living Aeneas (II, 788-789), in the admonition of the thrifty host Evander to his guest Aeneas (VIII, 364-365).

The neoterics, in following this standard of brevity, made their work consist of a number of loosely connected scenes. Catullus, in the *Peleus and Thetis*, turns an artistic film before us: the voyage of the Argonauts: the preparations for the marriage: the story of Ariadne: the description of the guests: the song of the Parcae—combine to form what has well been called a "mosaic," linked by short connecting passages. The *Culex* consists of three distinct pictures: the shepherd's noon-day rest amid his flocks: the shepherd's rescue: the description of Hades. Each could be recited separately with few alterations. The *Ciris* can be broken up into scenes without difficulty; the *Moretum* and the *Copa* are examples of the narrative with one picture drawn in detail. When Vergil wrote the *Aeneid* he had learned how to combine pictures into a progressive climax, as Heinze points out in his section on the second book; scene follows scene, not in loosely connected sequence, but in ever-increasing tension of excitement. The narrative is linked by the fact that one person, an onlooker and participator, tells all the parts. Guided by him, we come from without the city to within its gates; from the house of Anchises, remote and withdrawn, into the rush of the highways; from the centre of the city to the inner-

most penetralia of the royal palace, where interest culminates in the death of Priam amid the ruins of his rule. So the *Aeneid* itself follows the fate of its hero from utter despair through the stages of increasing hope till it ends in the overthrow of his last enemy. Vergil's dramatic instinct is at work here. A simpler instance of working to a climax is noted by Heinze in Book IX, 569-574:³

Ilioneus saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis
 Lucetium, portae subeuntem ignisque ferentem,
 Emathiona Liger, Corynaeum sternit Asilas,
 hic iaculo bonus, hic longe fallente sagitta;
 Ortygium Caeneus, victorem Caenea Turnus,
 Turnus Ityn Cloniumque, Dioxippum Promolumque . . .

Heinze remarks, with regard to this passage, that "the Hellenistic poets certainly followed this principle (i.e., of increasing concentration for effect) in their longer lists" (of details of names); and compares this tendency as seen in Tibullus' description of life in the Golden Age (I, 3, 37 ff.):

nondum caeruleas *pinus* contempserat undas,
 effusum ventis praebueratque sinum,
 nec vagus ignotis repetens compendia terris
 presserat externa *navita* merce ratem.
 illo non validus subiit iuga tempore *taurus*,
 non domito frenos ore momordit *equus*,
 non *domus* ulla fores habuit, non fixus in agris
 qui regeret certis finibus arva *lapis*.
 ipsae mella dabant *quercus*, ultroque ferebant
 obvia securis ubera lactis *oves*.
 non *acies*, non *ira* fuit, non *bella*, nec ensem
 immiti saevus duxerat arte *faber*.
 nunc Iove sub domino *caedes* et *vulnera* semper,
 nunc *mare*, nunc leti mille repente *viae*.

In like manner Apollonius writes with growing complexity (I, 1043 ff.):

αὐτὰρ εὐμμελὴς Τελαμῶν βασιλῆα κατέκτα.
Ἴδας δ' αὖ Προμέα, Κλυτίος δ' Ἰάκινθον ἔπεφνεν,
Τυνδαρίδαι δ' ἄμφω Μεγαλοσσάκεια Φλογίον τε.

In Heinze's book on Vergil there is, moreover, a suggestion that part of Vergil's artistic technique might possibly have been

³ *Epische Technik*,³ 1915, p. 220, and note 2.

stimulated by study of the style of historical narrative, as the Hellenistic historians wrote it. Further light is thrown on this art of narration by the critics Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus, and Cicero. Now no one can prove that Vergil owed anything of his technique to the study of Hellenistic historiography; but because there is a certain similarity of art in the two cases, I think it worth while to describe briefly here something of the writings of Scheller and Schneider, who have studied this question in detail.⁴

Many of the precepts of the Greek or Latin critics may at once be excluded: the choosing of a noble subject, the aim at a well-knit unity of action, the search for variety in subject matter, the symmetrical treatment of the different parts, the avoidance of wearisome digression, may all be safely credited to the poet's own artistic sense. The position of the historian as teacher and, by example deftly pointed, as preacher, is strongly marked in these Hellenistic writers. History for them has a moral (usually, it is true, a politically-moral) aim; whence spring the *laudationes* and *vituperationes* which formed so important a part of their technical apparatus. Diodorus thus confides to us his policy:⁵ "Having, throughout the whole work, used the common and accustomed liberty of an historian, we have both praised the good, and condemned the bad, as they have fallen in our way, to the end that those whose genius and inclination prompts them to virtue may be the more encouraged to noble actions, in hopes of having the glory of their names continued to all succeeding generations; and, on the other hand, that they who are bent to wickedness may be curbed and restrained from the heat, at least, of their impiety, by those marks of dishonour and disgrace fixed upon them" (*preface* to XV). Polybius repeatedly avows a similar motive: "Of King Attalus, who now died, I think I ought to speak a suitable word, as I have done in the case of others. . . . This king's greatness of mind therefore deserves our admiration, because . . ." (XVIII, 41). "This event conveys many useful lessons to a thoughtful observer. Above all, the disaster of

⁴ See Heinze, *ibid.*, p. 471, and note 1, for bibliography.

⁵ The translations used in this section are: for Diodorus, that of Booth, 1814; for Polybius, that of Shuckburgh, 1889; for Dionysius, that of Rhys Roberts, 1901.

Regulus gives the clearest possible warning that no one should feel too confident of the favours of Fortune, especially in the hour of success—I record these things in the hope of benefiting my readers” (I, 35). “No nobler action has ever been, or ever will be performed; none to which an historian could better draw his reader’s attention—But of all this Phylarchus says not a word, being, as it seems to me, entirely blind as to all that is noblest and best suited to be the theme of an historian” (II, 61). Dionysius in his *Antiquitates* puts forward a similar aim: *ὃν δὲ τρόπον ὁ Λάρκιος ἐχρήσατο τοῖς πράγμασι, δικτάτωρ πρῶτος ἀποδεχθεῖς, καὶ κόσμον οἶον περιέθηκε τῇ ἀρχῇ, συντόμως πειράσσομαι διεξελθεῖν, ταῦτα ἡγούμενος εἶναι χρησιμώτατα τοῖς ἀναγνωσκομένοις, ἃ πολλὴν εὐπορίαν παρέξει καλῶν καὶ συμφερόντων παραδειγμάτων νομοθέταις τε καὶ δημαγωγοῖς . . .* (V. 75). And Cicero carries on the tradition: *cum et reprehendes ea, quae vituperanda duces, et quae placebunt exponendis rationibus comprobabis* (*ad Fam.* V, 12, 4).⁶

In order to point his moral intelligently and forcibly, the historian must study the origin and motive of the incidents he records:—“What is really educational and beneficial to students of history is the clear view of the causes of events”—(Polyb. VI, I); and the personality of his actors: “It is strangely inconsistent in historians . . . to pass over in complete silence the characteristics and aims of the men by whom the whole thing was done, though these in fact are the points of the greatest value. . . . For . . . one feels more roused to emulation and imitation by men that have life, than by buildings that have none . . .” (X, 21). Livy, in his *Preface*, shows a similar aim; and it is conceivable that Vergil, too, was stimulated from this direction by the general Hellenistic desire of probing into causes, motives, and character.

Parallel with the moral aim of the Hellenistic historian runs the hedonistic: the desire to please and attract. The strength of the belief in the value of this policy is best seen in Polybius. Though the most sober of historians he yet declares: “Those who are engaged on representing anything either to eye or ear can have only two objects to aim at—pleasure and profit” (XV, 36). “Either to eye or ear”—this implies the *ἐνάργεια*, the

⁶ See Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, 1906, pp. 84 ff.

evidentia, the graphic representation based on imitation—*μίμησις*—of the living actor. This *ἐνάργεια*, above all, the Hellenistic writer longs to attain that he may stir the emotion of his readers. Dionysius calls it “the first of the extraneous excellences” of an historian (*ad Pomp.* III): and well sums up its theory in his *Antiquitates*: ἡδεται γὰρ ἡ διάνοια παντὸς ἀνθρώπου χειραγωγουμένη διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀκούουσα τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ὁρῶσα (XI, 1, 25 ff). Admiration, anger, sympathy, are to be called forth, if the historian fulfil his work aright: Polybius strives ἵνα μὴ μόνον εὐπαρακολούθητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταπληκτικὴ γίνηται τοῖς προσέχουσιν ἢ διήγησις (IV, 28): “without knowing these” (i.e., the causes of catastrophes) he declares “it is impossible to feel the due indignation or pity at anything which occurs” (II, 56). Personal touches are to enhance the effect: “those who have gone through no such course of actual experience produce no genuine enthusiasm in the minds of their readers” (XII, 25, h); marvellous tales of descriptions of the vagaries of Fortune may stimulate the reader’s interest. “I thought it, therefore,” says Polybius, “distinctly my duty neither to pass by myself, nor allow any one else to pass by, without full study, a characteristic specimen of the dealings of Fortune at once brilliant and instructive in the highest degree. For fruitful as Fortune is in change, and constantly as she is producing dramas in the life of men, yet never assuredly before this did she work such a marvel, or act such a drama, as that which we have witnessed” (I, 4). We remember Cicero’s similar words: nihil est enim aptius ad delectationem lectoris quam temporum varietates fortunaeque vicissitudines (*ad Fam.* V, 12, 4). History, in short, may become a drama: habet enim varios actus mutationesque et consiliorum et temporum; in which the varying fortunes of the hero are to carry our hearts through the whole gamut of emotion: viri saepe excellentis ancipites varique casus habent admirationem, expectationem, laetitiam, molestiam, spem, timorem: si vero exitu notabili concluduntur, expletur animus iucundissima lectionis voluptate.

Such is the canon laid down for the Hellenistic historiographer, and its roots lie in the spirit of the Hellenistic life. Around the basic idea of Personality are grouped the *laudationes*, the *vituperationes* which shall give practical aid to men in

furthering their ends, the vivid pictures of the changing fortunes of conspicuous characters, the portrayal of magnificence and marvel which shall awake wonder, of suffering and kindness which shall arouse sympathy and love. No less self-conscious than the Hellenistic poet is the historian in whose power lie the characters of the men he describes, and the hearts of the readers he instructs and moves to feeling at his will.

The sources of these precepts lie in the movements started by Isocrates and Aristotle. To Xenophon and Isocrates, as Leo has noted, is due the introduction of the biographical epilogue, which was to be found afterward in the work of Ephorus and Theopompus. It sprang partly from the personal interest in his subject natural to an orator, partly from the interest in personality remarked above. The theory, as Heinze and Scheller point out, that history must exert a moral influence on its readers, can be traced to Isocrates.⁷ Oratorical training is revealed also in the care with which Ephorus and Theopompus, in obedience to their master, strove to vary their historical work by digressions—*παρεκβάσεις*—that their readers might be duly entertained. The practices of the epideictic school of oratory and of those historiographers influenced by it are well described by Cicero—*Orator* 19, 65; *sophistarum, de quibus supra dixi, magis distinguenda similitudo videtur, qui omnes eosdem volunt flores quos adhibet orator in causis persequi. Sed hoc differunt quod, cum sit eis propositum non perturbare animos, sed placare potius, nec tam persuadere quam delectare, et apertius id faciunt quam nos et crebrius, concinnas magis sententias exquirunt quam probabilis, a re saepe discedunt, intexunt fabulas, verba altius transferunt eaque ita disponunt ut pictores varietatem colorum, paria paribus referunt, adversa contrariis, saepissimeque similiter extrema definiunt. Huic generi historia finitima est, in qua et narratur ornate et regio saepe aut pugna describitur; interponuntur etiam contiones et hortationes, sed in his tracta quaedam et fluens expetitur, non haec contorta et acris oratio. . . .* From the orator, Isocrates, then, springs a school of historiography that seeks the pleasure of its public.⁸ Aristotle, on the other hand, starts the quest of

⁷ Heinze, *op. cit.*, pp. 475 f.

⁸ Wachsmuth, *Ueber Ziele und Methoden der griech. Gesch. schreibung*, 1897, p. 15 f.

the individual after knowledge, first of science, then of the history of science and of scientific men; hence arises a like interest in men and manners springing from an absolutely different source from that of Isocrates' school, the desire to learn the truth rather than the desire to please. Leo cites the story of Peisistratus and the labourer, and the characterization of Peisistratus and his deeds in the *Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων* as foreshadowing the biographical *εἶδος*: a student of Aristotle, Aristoxenus, introduced the literary biographies—*βίοι*—which influenced so strongly peripatetic historiography. From Aristotle, as Leo notes, sprang the method which told the *πράξεις* of an individual and allowed the *ἥθος* which characterized him to be inferred from them. As Aristotle prescribed—1179a18—*τὸ δ' ἄλλθες ἐν τοῖς πρακτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τοῦ βίου κρίνεται· ἐν τούτοις γὰρ τὸ κύριον*—, so Theophrastus wrote his *Characters*, and so wrote the post-Aristotelian historians, in distinction from the Alexandrian, from Polybius, and from Suetonius, who definitely describe the *ἥθος* of their individual men.

Yet Aristotle was the rhetorician no less than the student of science; and to this fact is due the ultimate reconciliation between the schools of Aristotle and Isocrates in the headlong pursuit of *ψυχαγωγία*, as embodied in the writing of the peripatetic Duris and of Phylarchus. The arousing of emotions in the heart of the spectator is the fundamental principle of the *Poetics*; *ἐνάργεια*, *μίμησις*, the working of Fortune in the *περιπέτεια*, the calculated effect of *τὸ παράδοξον*, the due care that the *λέξις*, *ἐὰν ᾗ παθητικὴ τε καὶ ἠθικὴ*, shall represent *τὸ πρέπον*, either of circumstance, age, or sex—all these are, as everyone knows, prescribed in Aristotle's theories of art.

If we turn now from the theory of these critics to the practice of the Hellenistic historiographers, we may discover traces of the principle *prodesse et delectare* even amid the scanty fragments of their writings. Concrete examples of vice and virtue appear in the work of Ephorus-Diodorus. *Ἐγκώμιον* and *ψόγος* are found in Theopompus, the follower of Isocrates (Polyb. VIII, 11 f.), who wrote a *Philippi Laudatio*, and yet is vehemently upbraided by Polybius for his unrestrained *vituperatio Philippi* in the forty-ninth book of the *Philippica*; he also wrote a *De Pietate*, and told in the *Philippica* of extravagant

living and its hapless end. Phylarchus praises Cleomenes: ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν ἐδήλωσε (Φύλαρχος), βουλόμενος ὑποδείξαι τὴν Κλεομένου μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ μετρίότητα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους (Polyb. II, 61); he describes the drunkenness of the Byzantii (Fr. 10), and of the Colophonii (Fr. 62), and the reverent absence of wine from the oblations of the worshippers of the Sun (Fr. 24). Philochorus warns his readers *in vino veritas* (Fr. 20); Clearchus in his *Lives* tells of the degeneration of the Tarentines from indulgence to open sin, and the ensuing punishment sent by the wrath of the gods (Fr. 9; cf. Fr. 10). Trogus, whose Hellenistic characteristics Schneider has pointed out in detail, affords us an excellent example of this tendency. He examines the προαίρεσις—principle of conduct or life: the bravery of Lysimachus (XV, 3), the temperance of Hannibal, which brought its own reward (XXXII, 4, 10 ff.): as the vice of Ptolemy Philopator ended in disaster (XXX, I): spoliassetque regno Antiochum, si fortunam virtute iuvisset. Sed . . . (here follows the description of his wickedness, and the moral): haec primo laborantis regiae tacita pestis et occulta mala fuere. Similarly, the flight of Ptolemy Philometor is directly traced to his sloth and over-indulgence of sensual appetite (XXXIV, 2, 7 f.). The comparison, in point of morals, between man and man—between nation and nation—received its impulse from Poseidonius, was fostered by Panaetius and Polybius, and came to maturity in Nepos, Cicero, and Plutarch. That the reader's moral and mental horizon may be widened, descriptions of the customs of various peoples are frequently introduced: of the Sybarites by Timaeus (Fr. 60); of the Scythians, of Sicily, of the Macedonians, of Spain, by Trogus. Poseidonius, especially, delighted in pursuing investigations touching the history of countries and peoples; later on appeared the monographs of Caesar and Tacitus. Historians proper wrote separate treatises of this kind—as Philochorus' books on ritual observances, and Duris' *De moribus et institutis*. Akin to all this examination into motive and custom is the aetiological element. Timaeus discusses the philological meaning of Sardonic laughter; Phylarchus, that of Bosphorus and of Serapis; Philochorus, that of Areopagus and of sundry other words. Duris shows the same tendency (Fragg. 16, 25, 34); Schneider points out abundant instances in Trogus. Parallel with the curiosity as to names

is the zeal for interpreting the motives of men. The study of motives revealed in Diodorus XIX-XX may well be derived from Duris. Trogus prefers to dwell on the events that precede war rather than to give military details; Sempronius Asellio (Gell. *N. A.* V, 18, 8 f.) declares that, in distinction from the older Roman annalists, who were content to write dry records of history: *nobis non modo satis esse video, quod factum esset, id pronuntiare, sed etiam, quo consilio quaque ratione gesta essent, demonstrare*. Then follows explicitly the moral motive: *nam neque alacriores ad rem p. defendundam, neque segniores ad rem perperam faciundam annales libri commovere quicquam possunt. scribere autem bellum initum quo consule et quo confectum sit et quis triumphans introierit ex eo et eo libro quae in bello gesta sint non praedicare aut interea quid senatus decreverit aut quae lex rogatiove lata sit neque quibus consiliis ea gesta sint iterare: id fabulas pueris est narrare, non historias scribere*. I think here we may fairly see Hellenistic influence. At times the historian comes forward in his own person to point the moral: the Lydians, Trogus declares, owed their fall to their own lack of discipline (I, 7, 13); the failure of Dionysius' attack on the men of Croton is pointed with the remark: *tantum virtutis paupertas adversum insolentes divitias habet*—(XX, 5, 3); fear of the gods kept the king of Phrygia more safely than force of arms (XI, 7, 14). To this we may add the use of the story for the purpose of instruction, as it is employed in Euhemerus' phantasy to declare the author's views on the gods and on an ideal government.⁹

More interesting than the moral tendency, is the desire of these men to attract, and to excite the emotions of their readers. On the milder side, descriptions of wedding-feasts, calculated to give a pleasure like that produced by society records of modern times, formed already part of the history of Alexander's court (as in Chares: Geier, pp. 302 ff., Fragg. 16, 17). But, further, in these historians, scenes of horror are related, and stories of barbarous cruelty given in detail. Plutarch accuses Duris of exaggeration for "tragic" effect in his narrative of the surrender of the Samians to Pericles (*Per.* 28, trans. Perrin): "To these

⁹ Raymond de Block, *Éuhémère, Son livre et sa doctrine*, 1876, pp. 55 f. So Hecataeus teaches the "Ideale seiner Zeit" under the guise of Egyptian history: Wendland, *Hellen.-Röm. Kultur*,² 1912, pp. 116 f.

details Duris the Samian adds stuff for tragedy, accusing the Athenians and Pericles of great brutality, which is recorded neither by Thucydides nor Ephorus nor Aristotle. But he appears not to speak the truth when he says, forsooth, that Pericles had the Samian trierarchs and marines brought into the market-place of Miletus and crucified there, and that then, when they had already suffered grievously for ten days, he gave orders to break their heads in with clubs and make an end of them, and then cast their bodies forth without burial rites. At all events, since it is not the wont of Duris, even in cases where he has no private and personal interest, to hold his narrative down to the fundamental truth, it is all the more likely that here, in this instance, he has given a dreadful portrayal of the calamities of his country, that he might calumniate the Athenians." If, as is most probable, Diodorus drew upon Duris for his history of Agathocles in Books XIX-XXI, we can see clear indications of Duris' appetite for gruesome story and dramatic detail. We may compare with the above quotation the criticism of Polybius on Phylarchus' description of the sufferings of the Mantineans (II, 56): "It was his" (i.e., Phylarchus) "object to bring into prominence the cruelty of Antigonos and the Macedonians, as well as that of Aratus and the Achaeans; and he accordingly asserts that, when Mantinea fell into their hands, it was cruelly treated; and that the most ancient and important of all the Arcadian towns was involved in calamities so terrible as to move all Greece to horror and tears. And being eager to stir the hearts of his readers to pity, and to enlist their sympathies by his story, he talks of women embracing, tearing their hair, and exposing their breasts; and again of the tears and lamentations of men and women, led off into captivity along with their children and aged parents." Plutarch makes a similar statement (*Them.* XXXII, trans. Perrin) with regard to the body of Themistocles—"and Phylarchus, too, when, as if in a tragedy, he all but erects a theatrical machine for this story, and brings into the action a certain Neocles, forsooth, and Demopolis, sons of Themistocles, wishes merely to stir up tumultuous emotion; his tale even an ordinary person must know is fabricated." The fragments themselves show evidence of pathetic tales: in Phylarchus, that of the heroic Danae, dying to save him she loved (Fr. 23): of the dreadful

death of Aristomachus, tyrant of the Argives (Fr. 52); in Timaeus, the fate of Dido (Fr. 23).

Of equal importance in this connection are love-tales. Four of the stories of Parthenius' *Erotica* (15, 23, 25, 31) are attributed by Müller to Phylarchus, though only one of these is assigned by him to the Histories.¹⁰ Timaeus affords one story (Par. *Erot.* 29). Seven of the fragments of Duris deal with matters of love or sex (Frs. 2, 3, 19, 27, 35, 42, 63); he attributes the punishment of Prometheus to his love for Athene (Fr. 19), and the Samian and Peloponnesian Wars to Aspasia (Fr. 58).

Yet another natural means of arousing emotion lies in the introduction of the marvellous. As we have noted before, *παράδοξα* and *mirabilia* were the passion of the Hellenistic Age; τὸ δὲ θαυμαστὸν ἥδὺ σημείον δέ, πάντες γὰρ προστιθέντες ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὡς χαριζόμενοι.¹¹ Cicero speaks of the "innumerable fables" of Theopompus (*de legg.* I, I, 5), whose stories earned the name of *Thaumasía*—"Book of Wonder." Strabo (ch. 814) accuses Callisthenes—προστραγωδεῖ δὲ τοῖτοις—for his tale of portent; Polybius (XII, 24) notes Timaeus' propensity for marvels: "In attacking others he shows great acuteness and boldness; when he comes to independent narrative, he is full of dreams, miracles, incredible myths—in a word, of miserable superstition and old wives' tales"; compare his history of Diomedes (Fr. 13), and his tales of the miracle of the river's healing power (Fr. 15), of the kindly cicada (Fragg. 64, 65). Megasthenes is full of the marvels of India; and his presentation of them is strongly condemned by Strabo: διαφερόντως δ' ἀπιστεῖν ἄξιον Δημάχῳ τε καὶ Μεγασθένει. οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ τοὺς Ἑνωτοκοίτας καὶ τοὺς Ἀστόμους καὶ Ἄρρινας ἱστοροῦντες, Μονοφθάλμους τε καὶ Μακροσκελεῖς καὶ Ὀπισθοδακτύλους (ch. 70). Duris falls under the like condemnation from Didymus (*on Dem.* col. 12, 50): ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν κἀνταῦθα τερατεύσεσθαι: the fragments of Phylarchus' work contain stories of marvel after marvel. So Theopompus in his narrative of the Meropes; so Euhemerus, Iambulus, and Hecataeus all added a touch of romance and a wealth of imaginary detail in their description of far-off lands; Antigonos, Myrsilus, Philostephanus and others wrote Wonderbooks. Dreams, oracles, portents were found recorded side by side

¹⁰ Cf. Rohde, *Gr. R.* p. 55.

¹¹ Aristotle, *A. P.*, 1460a.

with accounts of physical phenomena; even the history of Hannibal is embellished with dreams and nightly visions of the god.

Lastly, the Hellenistic historians delight in dramatic scenes. Duris, whose interest in the stage is shown by his works on tragic writers and tragedy, announces in his first book: "Ἐφορος δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπος τῶν γενομένων πλείστον ἀπελείφθησαν· οὔτε γὰρ μιμήσεως μετέλαβον οὔδεμιᾶς οὔτε ἡδονῆς ἐν τῷ φράσαι, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ γράφειν μόνον ἐπεμελήθησαν . . . Μίμησις, then, graphic imitation of life, is his object. Therefore he pictures vividly in his Histories the appearance or dress of his people; no fewer than nine fragments deal with this. The story of the triumphant return of Alcibiades from exile gives a good instance of Duris' method (Plut. *Alc.* 32, trans. Perrin): "Duris the Samian, who claims that he was a descendant of Alcibiades, gives some additional details. He says that the oarsmen of Alcibiades rowed to the music of a flute blown by Chrysogonus the Pythian victor; that they kept time to a rhythmic call from the lips of Callipides, the tragic actor; that both these artists were arrayed in the long tunics, flowing robes, and other adornment of their profession; and that the commander's ship put into harbours with a sail of purple hue, as though, after a drinking bout, he were off on a revel. But neither Theopompus, nor Ephorus, nor Xenophon mentions these things, nor is it likely that Alcibiades put on such airs for the Athenians, to whom he was returning after he had suffered exile and many great adversities." Xenophon does not relate these details. Anecdotes, little touches which reveal personal character, appear in the fragments of the work of Duris (4, 14, 22); quotation of actual sayings in those of Phylarchus (8, 18, 40a).¹²

Tragic technique on Hellenistic lines is pointed out by Schneider in Pompeius Trogus. "Ἐκπληξίς is aroused by τὸ

¹² Lauckner, *Die Künste und polit. Ziele d. Monographie Sallusts über d. Jug. Krieg*, 1911, pp. 59 ff., sees in Plutarch's *Life of Cleomenes* a good example of Phylarchus' dramatic technique of this kind. Cf. R. Schubert, *Die Quellen Plutarchs, Jahrb. für kl. Phil., Supp. Bd., IX* (1878), pp. 709 ff., who suspects the hand of Duris in the *Life of Demetrius*. Schwartz also remarks the vivid painting, "of which no modern historical novel need be ashamed," of Phylarchus, in the *Life of Cleomenes* (*Fünf Vorträge über den griech. Roman*, 1896, pp. 114 ff.).

μυθῶδες, as in the narrative of Lysimachus' achievements (XV, 3), of the career of Agathocles (XXII, 1 f.), and of Mithridates (XXXVII, 2); by τὸ ἐμπαθές, pictured in such pitiful stories as we have seen; by τὸ παράλογον, the unexpected, such as the passage in XXVII, 2: Post discessum Ptolomei Seleucus cum adversus civitates, quae defecerant, ingentem classem comparasset, repente velut diis ipsis parricidium vindicantibus orta tempestate classem naufragio amittit; nec quicquam illi ex tanto adparatu praeter nudum corpus et spiritum et paucos naufragii comites residuos fortuna fecit. Misera quidem res, sed optanda Seleuco fuit; siquidem civitates, quae odio eius ad Ptolomeum transierant, velut diis arbitris satis factum sibi esset, repentina animorum mutatione in naufragi misericordiam versae imperio se eius restituunt. Other examples of περιπέτεια are the fate of Arsinoë's sons in the midst of her marriage festivities (XXIV, 3), where we notice the poetical detail: Pro filiis saepe se percussoribus obtulit, frequenter corpore suo puerorum corpora amplexata protexit vulneraque excipere, quae liberis intendebantur, voluit. Ad postremum etiam spoliata funeribus filiorum scissa veste et crinibus sparsis cum duobus servulis ex urbe protracta Samothraciam in exilium abiit, eo miserior, quod mori ei cum filiis non licuit; and the change of fortune of Lysimachus, consequent upon his murder of Agathocles: Haec illi prima mali labes, hoc initium independentis ruinae fuit (XVII, 1). This careful noting of cause and effect Trogus shares with Livy and Vergil.

To the reader, then, who compares these notes with the detailed description given by Heinze of Vergil's workmanship, it might appear not impossible that the natural genius of the eager student, not only of men but of their ways and of their artistic devices for portraying life and manners, was strengthened by finding either directly or through the agency of the later Roman Annalists,¹³ an aim and method similar to his own. The *Aeneid*, as Heinze shows by exhaustive detail, is a story of mental and spiritual struggle; its hero is an example to other men who are striving to fulfil their moral destiny. Moral

¹³ See Zarncke, *Der Einfluss der griech. Lit. auf die Entwicklung der röm. Prosa: Comm. Ribbeckianae*, 1888, p. 316. For traces of a technique in Livy somewhat similar to that of Vergil see Witte, *Ueber die Form der Darstellung in Livius' Geschichtswerk*, *Rh. Mus.*, LXV (1910), pp. 283 ff.

factors, rather than external accident, decide the day; mock contests and real battles are won by strength of mind and will, lives are lost in failure resulting from motives of folly. Each character—and Vergil tries to concentrate on a few that these may live more really—is brought home to the reader's heart by his acts, and his speeches; Vergil, like Livy,¹⁴ followed this indirect method of characterization as more dramatic and effective. No man is wholly good at the start: Aeneas fights his way to perfection; no man is wholly bad: Mezentius loves his son; Latinus, for all his cowardice, will not break his plighted word. And that Vergil may win his reader, he pictures all emotions common to man: terror, surprise, wonder, pity, reverence, awe, gratitude, love. Περιπέτεια falls to all the more noble characters, that we may grieve over the fate that follows upon happiness, a fate the more pathetic if it is the outcome of weakness of some sort: the fate that overtakes Priam and the Trojans in Troy, Aeneas in Latium, and Nisus and Euryalus on the battle-field. The narrative from beginning to end is steeped in the life given by the touch of colour; physical details of dress, of habit, of surrounding, spiritual details of mood and temperament, form the ἐνάργεια which enlivens the picture. At least we may say that that same spirit which animated the followers of Aristotle is seen in its height in Vergil—to work without stint that his story may be a living whole.

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When Vergil, as every one knows, spent his day polishing and repolishing a few lines of verse, we are not to imagine that he called to his aid any handbook or textbook of Hellenistic poetry. He worked according to his own sense of what read and sounded well. But there is no doubt that his sense had been most carefully trained; the impatience with which he throws away rhetoric in the fifth poem of the *Catalepton*, as he afterwards rejects Alexandrian mythology in the beginning of the third *Georgic*,¹⁵ shows how thorough and how general was the education in these subjects.

¹⁴ Stimulated, very probably, by the Roman Annalists: Bruns, *Die Persönlichkeit in der Gesch. schreibung der Alten*, 1898, pp. 63 ff.

¹⁵ See Wight Duff, *Literary History of Rome*, 1909, p. 450.

It is, however, very rash to select instances from the *Aeneid* (other than verbal imitations) and assert that they were definitely modelled after Hellenistic poetry or rhetoric; the most, I think, we can say is that Vergil's training had made him highly conscious of the possibilities of artistic diction, and that pictorial turns of narrative (which do occur in older Greek prose and poetry) are more deliberately chosen by him, in consequence of this training, to adorn his story. For instance: Demetrius, whoever he was (according to Rhys Roberts, not Demetrius of Phalerum, but a writer, very possibly, of the first century of our era), drew up a manual *De elocutione*,¹⁶ containing examples of rhetorical expression culled from preceding writers—Homer, Plato, Xenophon—together with some principles as to the purpose of these expressions. A number of these examples can be paralleled by passages from the *Aeneid*.

(1) (*Dem.* 7 f.). A short member represents vigour. "As a wild beast gathers itself together for the attack," wrote Demetrius, "so should discourse gather itself together as in a coil in order to increase its vigour." In Vergil, brevity expresses vigour in the swoop of the attack: *Fit via vi* (II, 494); in the crash of the trumpet, and in the display of the signal:

classica iamque sonant; it bello tessera signum (VII, 637);

brevity expresses haste in the sudden descent of night: *Ponto nox incubat atra* (I, 89); in the forward leap of the boatmen: *Haud mora, prosiluiere suis* (V, 140); in the dash of Nisus: *Nisus abit* (IX, 386); in the distracted darting to and fro in terror of capture: *Diversi circumspiciunt* (IX, 416). Surprise needs words equally few: e.g., the thrill of the vision: *Obstupuit visu Aeneas* (V, 90). Likewise note the emphasis secured through brevity: in the indignation of Venus: *Navibus (infandum) amissis* (I, 251); or of Juno: *Quippe vetor fatis* (I, 39); and in the decision of the oracle: *Mutandae sedes* (III, 161).

(2) (*Dem.* 139). Arrangement: the progress from the usual to the unusual, from the concrete to the abstract; as in Xenophon's words regarding Cyrus: "As presents he gives him a horse, a robe, a linked collar, and the assurance that his country should be no longer plundered."

¹⁶ Ed. and trans. Rhys Roberts, 1902; I have used this translation here.

Compare Horace, *Car.* I, XV, 11 f.:

iam galeam Pallas et aegida
currusque et rabiem parat.

So Vergil:

ruit Oceano nox
involvens umbra magna terramque polumque
Myrmidonumque dolos (II, 250 ff.);

and:

tectum augustum, ingens . . .
horrendum silvis et religione parentum (VII, 170 ff.);

and:

Paeoniis revocatum herbis et amore Dianae (*ib.* 769).

(3) (*Dem.* 263). Alleged "praetermission":

quid repetam exustas Erycino in litore classes,
quid tempestatum regem, ventosque furentes
Aeolia excitos, aut actam nubibus Irim? (X, 36 ff.).

Compare Catullus, LXIV, 116 ff.:

sed quid ego a primo digressus carmine plura
commemorem, ut . . . ut . . . ut . . .

(4) (*Dem.* 50 f.). Working to a climax in phrasing: as Plato's: "when a man suffers music to play upon him and to flood his soul through his ears." Such is:

quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras (I, 59).

(5) (*Dem.* 48 f.). Cacophony: "impressive effect is produced by a harsh collocation of words—as for example in the line:

Αἶας δ' ὁ μέγας αἰὲν ἐφ' "Εκτορι χαλκῶκορυστῇ."

Compare:

insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum (I, 87);

and:

exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum (II, 313);

and:

monstrum horrendum informe ingens, cui lumen ademptum
(III, 658).

(6) (*Dem.* 156). Use of proverbs: "by its very nature there is a certain piquancy in a proverb." Such is given by:

una salus victis nullam sperare salutem (II, 354);

and:

spes sibi quisque (XI, 309).

Nor is the use of rhetorical figures confined to any particular epoch of poetry. Though Vergil undoubtedly made deliberate use of antithesis, repetition, traductio, paronomasia and the like,¹⁷ examples of these can be found in Homer. So can chiasmus, and that kind of arrangement of words of which Κνίχαλα gives so many interesting illustrations from the *Aeneid*.¹⁸ Caspari has quoted some Hellenistic illustrations,¹⁹ and such examples have caused Norden to refer the symmetrical placing of words in the *Aeneid* partly to Hellenistic poetry, partly to rhetoric.²⁰ Certainly parallels are interesting, and a few may be given here:

- Aen.* XII, 103 f. *mugitus* veluti cum prima in proelia *taurus*
terrificos ciet atque irasci in cornua temptat;
- A. R.* II, 1118 f. Τοὺς δ' ἄμυδις κρατερῶ σὺν δοῦρατι κύματος ὀρμῇ
υἱῆας Φρίξιο μετ' ἡϊόνας βάλε νήσου:
- Aen.* I, 242 f. *Antenor* potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis,
Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima *tutus*;
- A. R.* I, 28 f. φηγοὶ δ' ἀγριαδες, κείνης ἔτι σήματα μολπῆς,
ἀκτῆς Θρηκίης Ζώνης ἔπι τηλεθόωσαι:
- Aen.* I, 592 f. quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi *flavo*
argentum Pariusve lapis circumdatur *auro*;
- A. R.* I, 685 f. πῶς τῆμος βώσσεσθε δυσαμμοροι; ἤε βαθείαις
αὐτόματοι βόες ὕμμιν ἐνιξευχθέντες ἀρούραις:
- Aen.* I, 9 f. quidve dolens regina deum *tot volvere casus*
insignem pietate virum, *tot adire labores*
impulerit;
- A. R.* I, 1168 f. μεσσόθεν ἄξεν ἐρετμόν. ἀτὰρ τρύφος ἄλλο μὲν αὐτὸς
ἄμφω χερσὶν ἔχων πέσε δόχμος, ἄλλο δὲ πόντος:
- Aen.* II, 314. *arma* amens capio; nec sat rationis in *armis*;
- A. R.* II, 365. Αἰγιαλός· πολέος δ' ἐπὶ πείρασιν Αἰγιαλοῖο.

¹⁷ Cholmeley notes examples of these figures in Theocritus: ed. 1913, pp. 39 ff.

¹⁸ *Ueber die Wortsymmetrie in der Aeneis, Neue Beiträge*, 1881, pp. 274 ff.

¹⁹ *De ratione quae inter Vergilium et Lucanum intercedat*, 1908, pp. 88 f.; see also Meta Glass, *The Fusion of Stylistic Elements in Vergil's Georgics*, 1913, pp. 26 ff.

²⁰ *Ed. Aeneid*, VI², 1916, p. 395.

But the cause, no doubt, is partly a natural rhythm, partly that artistic feeling which Vergil instinctively possessed. That this feeling was to some extent stimulated by study of later Greek style, seems reasonable; its results run throughout the work: the technique is more monotonous in the *carmina minora*, wonderfully varied in the *Aeneid*. Individual points of arrangement seen in Vergil can certainly be paralleled in Homer or in Lucretius, and might well be entirely spontaneous; the fact, however, that such points meet us in close succession in the Vergilian work seems to point to the conscious artist. In the first hundred lines of *Aeneid* II we find numerous examples:²¹

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|--|---|---|---|--|--|--|---|---|---|--|---|--|
| l. 4. | Troianas ut <i>opes</i> et lamentabile <i>regnum</i> ;
cf. 47; 62; | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| l. 11. | et breviter <i>Troiae</i> supremum audire <i>laborem</i> ;
cf. 35; 51; | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| l. 13. | <i>fracti</i> bello fatisque <i>repulsi</i> ;
cf. 61; | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| l. 20. | ingentes <i>uterumque</i> armato milite <i>complant</i> ; | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| l. 26. | ergo omnis <i>longo</i> solvit se Teucria <i>luctu</i> ;
cf. 39; 42; 93; | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| l. 31. | pars stupet <i>innuptae</i> donum exitiale <i>Minervae</i> ;
cf. for the assonance 38; 45, 46; 53; and notice the
linking verbs in these passages; ²² | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| l. 7. | <i>Myrmidonum</i> Dolopumve aut duri miles <i>Ulixi</i> ; | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| l. 33. | <i>duci</i> intra muros hortatur et arce <i>locari</i> ; | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| l. 96. | <i>promisi</i> ultorem et verbis odia aspera <i>movi</i> ;
cf. 68; | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ll. 19, 20. | <table border="0" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td>a</td> <td>c</td> <td>b</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3">includunt caeco lateri, penitusque cavernas</td> </tr> <tr> <td>b</td> <td>c</td> <td>a</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3">ingentes uterumque armato milite complant;</td> </tr> <tr> <td>a</td> <td>b</td> <td>a</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>b</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> | a | c | b | includunt caeco lateri, penitusque cavernas | | | b | c | a | ingentes uterumque armato milite complant; | | | a | b | a | | b | |
| a | c | b | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| includunt caeco lateri, penitusque cavernas | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| b | c | a | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ingentes uterumque armato milite complant; | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a | b | a | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | b | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| l. 50. | sic fatus validis ingentem viribus hastam; | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ll. 58, 59. | <i>pastores</i> magno ad regem clamore trahebant
<i>Dardanidae</i> ; | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ll. 79, 80. | hoc primum; nec, si miserum fortuna Sinonem
<i>finxit</i> , vanum etiam mendacemque improba <i>finget</i> ; | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

²¹ See Cholmeley, *loc. cit.*; Kirby Flower Smith, ed. Tibullus, 1913, pp. 104 ff.

²² The fragment of Hermesianax from Athenaeus is full of this assonance; and it frequently occurs in Catullus (K. F. Smith, p. 104).

- ll. 97, 98. *hinc* mihi prima mali labes, *hinc* semper Ulixes
 criminibus terrere novis, *hinc* spargere voces:
 cf. 29, 30.

The spondaic ending is a well known point of Alexandrian and neoteric technique;²³ in the particular hundred lines I am discussing, Vergil, as we are aware, has used the spondee with beautiful effect to express Sinon's slow inspection (l. 68):

constitit atque oculis Phrygia agmina circumspectit.²⁴

A similar art is seen in Book VII, 634:

aut leves ocreas lento ducunt argento;

on which Conington noted that "the spondaic metre expresses the slowness of the process." "Forms of spondaic endings," wrote Munro,²⁵ "borrowed from the Greek and mostly applied to Greek words, are not uncommon in Catullus, Virgil, and Ovid." And, again, we find also polysyllabic endings due to Greek influence: "Now, in Virgil such endings as *quadrupedantum ancipitemque*, and in Catullus such a one as *egredientem*, are exceedingly uncommon. But these poets make one striking exception in favour of Greek words and delight to close a verse with *hymenaeus*, *Deiopea*, *Thersilochumque*, and the like: a concession to Greek rhythm and a prettiness which Lucretius would not care for."²⁶ Yet it is the combining of this and manifold other types and varieties of verse into a perfect union, which gives to Vergil's rhythm the unique power that it has ever held.

²³ Glover, *op. cit.*, p. 62, referring to Munro's discussion of the Latin hexameter, *Lucretius*, vol. ii, p. 14.

²⁴ Cf. the slow and reluctant smile of Cocytus (Herm. ap. Athen. line 9.):

Κωκυτὸν τ' ἀθέμιστον ὑπ' ὀφρύσι μειδῆσαντα
 εἶδε.

²⁵ Munro, *ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

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